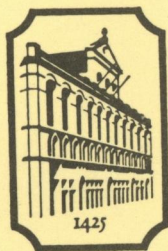


# HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA

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Vol. XXXIX - 1990



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James HANKINS

## THE LATIN POETRY OF LEONARDO BRUNI\*

The title of this paper, I fear, might be understood at first glance as issuing a challenge to the Republic of Letters. "Give ear unto me", it might be taken to say, "and I shall show you a new Leonardo Bruni. You who tell of Bruni the orator, Bruni the historian, Bruni the moralist, Bruni the chancellor, heed me and I shall show you, not a grave Bruni draped in Ciceronian robes, but a smiling, rubicund Bruni dripping with the honey of Helicon and Hymettus. Not the sound and serious worshipper of Clio, but the rapt disciple of Erato, Calliope and Polyhymnia. Not the prosy pedestrian of cretic and dichoreus, but a Dionysiac dancer from whose fervid pen would flow hexameter grave or gay hendecasyllabic. 'Come, knit hands and beat the ground / in a light fantastic round!'"

A pleasing fancy. I am afraid, however, that even in these days of extratextuality (in Professor Kristeller's fine word) the evidence one could produce for the new poetic Bruni would not, of itself, carry much conviction. Bruni quotes frequently from the major Latin poets and recommends their study, but he himself could hardly be considered an important poet<sup>1</sup>. There survive from his pen only five short Latin poems and three pieces in the vernacular<sup>2</sup>. Only one of the Latin poems

\* Research for this article was supported by the American Council of Learned Societies and the Harvard University Center for Renaissance Studies (Villa I Tatti).

<sup>1</sup> For Bruni's defense of poetry, see his *De studiis et literis* in H. Baron, ed., *Leonardo Bruni Aretino. Humanistisch-philosophische Schriften mit einer Chronologie seiner Werke und Briefe* (Leipzig 1928; rpt. Wiesbaden 1969), pp. 13-18; an English translation of the work may be found in G. Griffiths, J. Hankins, and D. Thompson, trs., *The Humanism of Leonardo Bruni* (Binghamton, New York 1987), pp. 240-250.

<sup>2</sup> In addition to the five original Latin poems treated here, Bruni also frequently rendered in Latin hexameters or distichs the quotations from Homer and other Greek poets contained in the works of Aristotle and Plato which he translated. He also left an unfinished verse translation of Aristophanes' *Plutus*, a text edited most recently by M. and E. Cecchini in *Leonardo Bruni. Versione del Pluto di Aristofane* (Florence 1965). It is worth noting that in addition to the two manuscripts used by the Cecchini, two more have been brought to light in P. O. Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, 4 vols. to date (London — Leiden

exists in more than a handful of copies. Nor does the quality of these effusions make one regret their quantity.

The real interest of Bruni's Latin poetry is biographical. Though all of his Latin verse is occasional, in the strict sense, the occasions were usually ones on which he was in some way moved or agitated. Since in most of his other writings Bruni's feelings and character are hidden under an elaborate literary persona, the biographer who wishes to understand what Bruni was like can find in his poems, few though they be, some valuable hints — and some surprises.

### 1. *Cohorts Gleaming in Red and Gold.*

A case in point is Bruni's earliest known poem, the *Carmen de adventu imperatoris*. The existence of the poem was first noted by Ludwig Bertalot in 1931<sup>3</sup> and was subsequently incorporated by Hans

1963-89), II, pp. 184 and 502: Turin, Bibl. ex-Reale Varia 14 and Ferrara, Bibl. Comunale Antonelli 545. I shall discuss here neither Bruni's verse translations nor his prose translations from *Iliad IX*. On this latter work, see now the excellent study of P. Thiermann, "Redécouverte et influence de manuscrits d'auteurs latins classiques au début du XVe siècle," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 17 (1987), 55-71, which, despite its title, is concerned primarily with Bruni's prose speeches based on Homer. I shall also defer to another occasion a treatment of Bruni's Italian *rime*. The authentic vernacular poems that survive from Bruni's hand are:

(I) the *Canzone a laude di Venere, secondo l'opinione di Platone*, edited by C. Gargioli, *Canzone di Lionardo Bruni d'Arezzo a laude di Venere. Per nozze Pori-Giusti* (Florence 1868); F. Beck, *Ungedruckte Gedichte des Simone Serdini da Siena nebst einer Kanzone des Leonardo d'Arezzo* (Programm Neuburg a. d. Donau 1895); Baron, *Bruni Schriften*, pp. 154-156; A. Lanza, in *Lirici toscani del Quattrocento* (Rome 1973), pp. 333-335; for the subtitle, see my *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1990), I, p. 71.

(II) *Canzone morale de felicitate*, or *L'opinioni de' philosophi circa felicitatem*, ed. G. M. Crescimbeni, *Dell'istoria della volgar poesia* (Venice 1730), II, ii, pp. 243-246; G. Monteleone, *Di Lionardo Bruni Aretino e delle sue opere studio* (Sora 1901), pp. 115-118; Baron, *Bruni Schriften*, pp. 149-154; Lanza, *Lirici toscani*, pp. 330-333.

(III) the sonnet "Spento veggio merzè sopra la terra", ed. in *Rime di Cesare Torto e di altri da lui raccolte* (Florence s.a. [s. XV]; repr. Venice 1508); L. Allaci, ed., in *Poeti antichi* (Naples 1661), p. 406; G. Vallardi, ed., in *Vita di Madonna Onorata di Bernardo Illicino* (Milan 1843), p. XX; L. Frati, ed., *Le rime del codice Isoldiano* (Bologna MS Univ. 1739), Collezione di opere inedite o rare, no. 2 (Bologna 1913); A. Lanza, ed., *Lirici toscani*, p. 335.

A fourth poem, entitled *Misticcio ad Cosmo de' Medici, inc.* Guarda ben ti dico io, guarda ben guarda, is ascribed to Bruni in Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale MS Naz. II.IV.723, ff. 27<sup>v</sup>-33<sup>v</sup>, "scriptus libellus hic a Petro Mochio Senensi in solemnibus Pachalis Natalis Domini Mcccclxxxviiiij" (f. 94<sup>v</sup>). The actual author is Antonio di Meglio, "araldo della Signoria Fiorentina"; see A. Lanza, *Lirici toscani*, pp. 90-94.

<sup>3</sup> The original article "Forschungen über Leonardo Bruni Aretino," published in *Archivum Romanicum* 15 (1931), 284-323, was reprinted in L. Bertalot, *Studien zum italienischen und deutschen Humanismus*, ed. P. O. Kristeller, 2 vols. (Rome 1975), II, pp. 375-420 (p. 394). Only one manuscript of the poem is known (see below, p. 5).



Baron into the argument of his ingenious contraption, *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance*<sup>4</sup>. According to Baron, Bruni must have written the poem in 1397/98 when the emperor Wenceslaus was planning a descent upon Italy to receive the imperial crown. In this enterprise he hoped to receive the support of Giangaleazzo Visconti and expected the opposition of the Guelf cities, led by Visconti's principal enemy, Florence. Bruni's hexameters call on "Rome" to resist the coming of the invader, who is compared to Hannibal, Xerxes, and Pyrrhus. Baron saw Bruni's poem as a piece of "abstract classicism", to be contrasted unfavorably with his "civic humanism", which Baron supposed to have emerged only after a putative political and intellectual crisis in 1402. The early poem displayed "a lack of natural osmosis between the tenets of the *literati* and the realities of life". "The realities of life" in this case seem to be the fact that the city of Rome "under fourteenth-century conditions of power and political energies was bound to play a minor role beside the flowering north and central Italian states".

The present writer cannot pretend to an equal sensitivity to the motions of the *Geist* between 1397 and 1402, but it may be pointed out that other interpretations of the poem are possible. For nothing in the poem prevents us from reading "Rome" as signifying, not the admittedly impotent city of Rome, but Florence or even Italy. Florence had been accustomed to styling herself the heir to Rome or the New Rome since the thirteenth century; indeed, one phrase in the poem was possibly intended to echo the famous inscription (ca. 1255) on the Palazzo del Podestà comparing Florence to Rome<sup>5</sup>. Then, too, the

<sup>4</sup> With the subtitle *Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny*, 2 vols. (Princeton 1955), I, pp. 294-95 and II, pp. 575-576. Baron quoted the first seven lines on p. 576. I find Baron's dating and attribution (in this case) convincing, though it may be noted that the text of Poggio's letter on the death of Salutati is not as rare as Baron believed it to be: in addition to the Reichenau and Laurenziana manuscripts there are at least a dozen other copies, some of which circulate under Bruni's own name. Baron's account of the manuscript's early history ("Obviously, the volume came from a member of Bruni's and Poggio's early circle at the Curia, and made its journey to the north in the baggage of a curial official who attended the Council of Constance") is pure fantasy. For further literature on the Reichenau MS, see my *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II, p. 691, no. 122.

<sup>5</sup> Compare the text in R. Davidsohn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz*, Teil 4 (Berlin 1908), p. 498:

Que mare, que terram, que totum possidet orbem  
Per quam regnantem fit felix Tuscia tota;  
Tamquam Roma sedet semper ductura triumphos  
Omnia discernit certo sub jure conhercens.

But the phrase *quae totum possidet orbem* is found also in Lucan, *Bell. civ.* 1.110 (see next note).

identification of the geographical and linguistic boundaries of Italy with "Rome" and "Latium" was common in the metrical epistles and in the *Africa* of Bruni's boyhood idol, Petrarch. In any case, the reference in the poem to the *oppida* of "Latium" who are to fortify themselves against the invader makes the equation of "Rome" with the city of Rome unlikely. The poem is probably best considered a piece of literary propaganda, similar to other classicizing broadsides confected in the period after 1375 by Bruni's teacher Coluccio Salutati. It is by no means lacking in "realism". After all, much of the educated classes of northern and central Italy was by this date in the grip of a passion for classical antiquity; a poem modelled on Petrarch and Lucan<sup>6</sup> and appealing powerfully to ancient parallels should by no means have fallen on deaf ears. Salutati used the very same parallels in his own *missive*, which are generally admitted to have been effective pieces of propaganda<sup>7</sup>. The call to put a stop to factional strife and join the common cause against the invader was hardly an "abstract" one given the political conditions of many central Italian cities in the 1390s. The advice to "fashion half-burnt stakes, all with iron points" refers to a defensive device first used against the Great Company of Werner of Urslingen by the Bolognese in 1342, a device which remained an effective anti-cavalry tactic till the fifteenth century<sup>8</sup>. It has no classical source.

What the poem really does show is that long before 1402 Bruni had made his own the ideological revolution in international politics wrought by Salutati during the War of the Eight Saints. For it was that war which finally put paid to the old imperial and papal ideologies of the medieval Italian cities, outraged so often before. In that war Salutati produced new justifications of Florentine policies which transformed her from the leader of Tuscan Guelfism into the upholder of the Roman values of liberty and justice in the peninsula<sup>9</sup>. Though Salutati

<sup>6</sup> For parallels and echoes of Lucan compare, e.g., Bruni line 1 to Lucan, *Bell. Civ.* 9.602, 8.528, and 1.305 (*ualidae tirone cohortes*); Bruni 3 to Lucan 1.347 (*Tollite iam pridem uictricia, tollite signa*); Bruni 4 to Lucan 8.548 (*Cognatas praestate manus externaque monstra/pellite*); Bruni 7 to Lucan 1.110 (*quae totum possidet orbem*), etc.

<sup>7</sup> See H. Langkabel, *Die Staatsbriefe Coluccios Salutatis: Untersuchungen zum Frühhumanismus in der Florentiner Staatskanzlei und Auswahledition* (Vienna 1986), pp. 110-111, letter 23, for Pyrrhus and Hannibal, and p. 177, letter 58, for the parallel with Xerxes.

<sup>8</sup> M. Mallett, *Mercenaries and Their Masters: Warfare in Renaissance Italy* (London 1974), p. 32.

<sup>9</sup> R. G. Witt, *Coluccio Salutati and His Public Letters* (Geneva 1976), and idem, *Hercules at the Crossroads: The Life, Works and Thought of Coluccio Salutati* (Durham, North Carolina 1983), pp. 126-132.

in his old age retreated to a more traditional Guelf ideology<sup>10</sup>, in the eyes of many Florentines the connection between the Holy Roman Emperor and the Roman Empire had been permanently severed. Whereas at the beginning of the fourteenth century figures like Dante and Dino Compagni had without any sense of absurdity been able to welcome Henry VII as the rightful ruler over “umile Italia”, by the end of the century classicism and Italian patriotism had developed to the point where it was possible to compare German knights or the troops of a French pope, not to the barbarian tribes — for that would have recalled the later Empire —, but to foreign invaders of the Roman Republic like Hannibal and Pyrrhus, or to Xerxes, the absolute monarch of Persia who threatened the free cities of Greece.

〈Leonardi Aretini Carmen de adventu imperatoris〉

Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek,  
MS Reichenau Perg. CXXXI, ff. 93<sup>v</sup>-94<sup>r</sup>.

Spreta iuuentutis hec carmina sunt Leonardi.

/f. 93<sup>v</sup>/

Roma tuas iterum ualido fulcire cohortes  
milite festina! ueniunt iam bella Quirites!  
Tollite uictricis fulgentia signa uolucris  
et patrie prestate manus; summittite colla  
ad magne virtutis honus. Non terreat hostis  
rumor et inuictum telum que possidet orbem  
inueniat. Qui iura tenent, qui sanguine cunctos  
non nisi diffuso discant seruire per artus.  
Quoque magis ualeat, studium deponite partis  
invidiamque fugate truce[m]; discrimina nullus  
lior agat; nullos teneat discordia ciuis  
externa ueniente manu memoresque priorum  
unanimes cuncti Latios seruare maniplos.  
At uos, que 〈firmo〉 posuistis menia claustro,

5

/f. 94<sup>r</sup>/

10

15

5 prestare MS 7 Fumor sic MS telum scripsi] tilus MS: celus  
Baron que] qui MS (cf. Lucan. 1.110 et supra, p. 000) 11 nullus correxi:  
nullos MS 13 ueniente bis MS

<sup>10</sup> Witt, *Hercules*, pp. 163ff.; see also idem, “A Note on Guelfism in Late Medieval Florence,” *Nuova rivista storica* 53 (1969), 134-45.

oppida, non paruo firmatas robore portas,  
 turribus excelsis magnos aptate molares  
 semicremasque sudas ferratta[que] cuspidē cun(c)tas,  
 quique procul muris uenientes arceat hostes  
 fortis et a nullo superandus muniat agger. 20  
 Tunc, ut fama canit, seu nostras tendit in oras  
 Hannibal ethereos iterum confringere montes  
 qui paret et mixtam Trebie delere iuuentam  
 tristia Cannarum gesturus proelia campis,  
 seu ueniat siccis pedibus turgentia Xerxes 25  
 equora qui secuit nature spretor et ausus  
 iungere Abide(n)is extenso littore Seston  
 et nuper arenti deducere ualle carinas,  
 seu te, Pyrrhe, suis iterum parat emula Sa(m)nis  
 commiscere malis, inimicum uincere turpem 30  
 dum cupit, euersi fastusque abolere propinqui:  
 utque repellit aquas ferientes equore cautes  
 firma manens tumido, sic te uenientia contra  
 omnia, Roma, tuis fugient tunc agmina pilis.  
 Quin seu Gallorum populiue mapalibus orti 35  
 Cymbrica rura suos iubeat migrare colonos <...>

Hec carmina sue iuuentutis tempore de aduentu imperatoris compo-  
 suit Leonardi Aretinus que ipse inde spreuit ue-/f. 94<sup>v</sup>/-lud puerilia.  
 Non sunt tamen contemnenda cum sint ingenio non mediocri sonantia  
 ut patebit legentibus.

["Rome, hasten once more to strengthen your cohorts with powerful  
 knight! War now is coming, Quirites. Take up the gleaming standard of  
 winged victory and lend a hand to the Fatherland. Bow your neck to  
 the burden of great virtue! Let not the rumor of the enemy terrify you;  
 let she who possesses the world find her unconquerable spear; let those  
 who keep the laws learn (that they cannot) serve (their country) without  
 pouring out their blood from every limb. And that she may be more  
 powerful, put off partisan desires, put savage envy to flight; let no spite  
 work on your divisions; let discord take hold of no citizen with hand

---

17 aptare *MS* 23 Trebie *scripsi* (cf. *Liuium* 21.52)] triuie *MS* 27 ab ideis  
*MS* (cf. *Lucan.* 6.55) Xeston *MS* 28 uale *MS* 31 eueri *MS* 32-  
 33 cautes firma *coni. J. IJsewijn*] cantus fremā *MS* 34 fugient tunc *scripsi*]  
 fugabuntur ab *MS* 35 orti *coni. J. IJsewijn*] cresis *MS* 38 expreuit *MS*

coming from without. And mindful of your ancestors, preserve ye all with one accord the companies of Latium! And you, towns, who build walls with <stout> bars, gates reinforced with no small strength: fit great stones to your high towers and fashion half-burnt stakes, all with iron points, and build the strong and insuperable trench which blocks the oncoming enemy far from your walls. Then, as fame sings, if Hannibal head for our shores, to break once more through the lofty mountains, who will prepare again to wipe out the mixed youth of Trebia on his way to waging unhappy battles on the field of Cannae; or if Xerxes come dryshod, who contemptuous of nature cuts the surging seas, daring to join Sestos to Abydos along the entire coast and afterwards to drag his ships down the sandy cleft; or if, Pyrrhus, [Rome's] Samnite challenger once again prepares to involve you in her calamities, desirous of beating her shameful enemy and destroying the haughtiness of a ruined neighbor: then, just as a rock, firm amid the swelling seas, repels the beating waters, so all those who come against you, Rome, shall flee your darts. Nay, further, if Rome should bid her colonists migrate to the Cymbrian lands of the Gauls and the people raised in huts (...)"]

## 2. *Epitaph for a Second Father*

Bruni's relationship to Salutati was intellectually the most important of his life, and it would be a useful task, though one that cannot be attempted here, to trace the many echoes of Salutati's thought in the younger man's writings. The personal relation between the two was equally close, albeit not without its strains. A year and a half after his death, Bruni, in a letter to Salutati's son Bonifazio, acknowledged in generous terms the elder Salutati's parental concern for his education:

I have never forgotten, nor, I hope, shall I ever forget as long as I live the great debt of filial piety I owe to your most distinguished and learned father. He could not have shown towards me more generous concern, goodwill and love than if he had been my own father. Many fathers wait for their sons to make requests, but he always went out of his way to discover my needs. Many fathers give their sons free rein when they begin to grow up; he took me in hand, old as I was, and never let me stray from the course, showing me the way to virtue and distinction by his advice, correction and



inspiration. It was thanks to Coluccio that I learned Greek, thanks to Coluccio that I devoted serious study to Latin, thanks to Coluccio that I read, learned and mastered the poets, orators and other writers. No parent was ever so tireless in guiding an only son as he was in guiding me. Deceived by his excessive love for me, he declared me to be a born literary man, and threatened to seize me and drag me away physically if I should abandon literature for something else<sup>11</sup>.

It would be cynical to doubt the sincerity of this tribute, but it must be observed that there was also a strain of rebellion in Bruni's filial relations with Salutati. Owing to disorders in his native city of Arezzo, Bruni's education had been delayed by some years, so that by the time he came under Salutati's tutelage he was already nearly thirty. Not all of the elder man's efforts to guide the morals of his young disciples were received with gratitude; and Bruni seems to have found his master on occasion to be pompous and lacking in *savoir faire*<sup>12</sup>. Before leaving Florence in 1405 his dependence on Salutati's patronage had made it difficult for Bruni to complain freely, but after he had secured a high post at the papal court some criticism and irritation finds its way into his letters<sup>13</sup>. The generational conflict between the elderly Salutati and his young followers had real consequences for cultural history. Bruni's Latin style, elegant, concise, and balanced, was, like Poggio's, a conscious reaction to the bloated structures, thick with allusion and ornament, by which Salutati endeavored to convey his thoughts. The younger men were also impatient with the labors of their teacher to reconcile literary study with Christian teaching. Though all of them no doubt were in some sense Christians, they all of them — and Bruni especially — cultivated an extreme separation between secular and Christian values which effectively reversed the trend of Florentine humanistic thought since the time of Petrarch.

But whatever the contrasts in sentiment and outlook between disciple

<sup>11</sup> L. Mehus, ed., *Leonardi Bruni Arretini Epistolarum libri VIII*, 2 vols. (Florence 1741), I, pp. 45-46 (Ep. II.11); cf. F. P. Luiso, *Studi su l'Epistolario di Leonardo Bruni*, ed. L. Gualdo Rosa (Rome 1980), p. 35 (Ep. II.13). Hereafter I shall give references to Bruni's letters following the order of Mehus only.

<sup>12</sup> Witt, *Hercules*, pp. 397-400.

<sup>13</sup> These expressions of irritation were suppressed by Bruni when he edited his correspondence for publication around 1440, but Luiso, *Studi*, pp. 7-18, rediscovered and printed some of the suppressed material.

and teacher, Bruni remained throughout his life grateful to Coluccio as to a father and loyal to his memory. Before Salutati had bidden him a tearful farewell for the papal court, he had made Bruni promise to help his weak-eyed son Salutato, whose only hope for employment was in the Church. Bruni kept his promise. Although he had often expressed disgust at the competition for benefices in the papal court, and had himself turned down a bishopric offered him by Innocent VII, after Coluccio's death he accepted from Gregory XII two canonries for the sole purpose of renouncing them in favor of Salutato. Later we find him composing letters on behalf of the Commune of Florence requesting preferment for Salutato and for another of Coluccio's sons, Leonardo; these *missive* may well have been written at Bruni's own instance<sup>14</sup>.

Bruni also planned a more strictly literary memorial of his second father. But here he ran into difficulties which may, too, be indicative of his ambiguous attitude to Salutati. We first hear of Bruni's plan for a *Laudatio Colucii* in a letter written from Siena on 17 December 1407, a few weeks after his letter to Bonifazio Salutati. In this second letter Bruni tells Niccoli that he had been avoiding work on the panegyric because he found the *materia* for Salutati's praise too sparse and unfamiliar. On 7 January he reports to Niccoli that he has begun writing the oration<sup>15</sup>. The last we hear of the projected work is in a letter, again to Niccoli, written at the end of March. After announcing "splendid progress" on the work, Bruni remarks that he had had doubts about his plan of composing a funeral oration *secundum antiquum morem*, because, on the one hand, he felt uneasy about employing a fiction of this kind about a matter he felt to be particularly serious; on the other hand he wanted to include some more pleasant matter which was inappropriate to the "tears and wailing" of a funeral oration. Having said this, however, Bruni broke down and admitted frankly that he had lost the thread of his composition,

<sup>14</sup> Bruni's refusal of a bishopric: Bruni, *Ep.* II.19, ed. Mehus I, p. 56; he accepts benefices for the sake of Salutato: *ibid.* II.11, ed. Mehus I, pp. 45-47; he writes letters requesting benefices for Leonardo di Coluccio on behalf of the Signoria: Florence, Archivio di Stato, Miscellanea repubblicana III, 88, ff. 6<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup> (undated, but between 21 ii 1411 and 24 ii 1411) and Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana Plut. 90 sup. 34, f. 253<sup>r</sup> (undated, to the papal governor of Perugia; not contained in the archival registers of Bruni's *missive*); another letter to the Pope on behalf of Salutato written in the name of the Signoria: *ibid.*, f. 229<sup>r-v</sup> (undated; also not in the Florentine archive).

<sup>15</sup> The letter of 17 December is in Luiso, *Studi*, pp. 39-42; that of 7 January 1408 is in Bruni, *Ep.* II.16, ed. Mehus, I, pp. 53-54.

whether through poverty of the subject or poverty of invention I can't say. I now see clearly what you're always exclaiming, that we are all pygmies these days; we might have some greatness of soul, but we simply haven't the stuff whereof to enhance our names and our glory. Marcus Claudius Marcellus was made famous by the capture of Syracuse, the defense of Nola, the expulsion of Hannibal, numerous victories, five consulates, two proconsulates, a victory in single combat with an enemy general, spoils offered to Capitoline Jupiter, a Triumph and an Ovation. ... But what can I write about today? ... The only things left to praise are good behavior and humanity. But even with them, unless there's been some extraordinary deeds of liberality, humanity, prudence, self-control or constancy beyond common experience, there won't be much material for praise. Generalized praise isn't worth much unless it descends to particular instances<sup>16</sup>.

One can sympathize with Bruni's difficulty. Greco-Roman antiquity had provided no models for an oration in praise of a man whose greatest deeds had been in the study, the office, or round the dinner table. The *materia* demanded something like a memoir or *éloge*, but such a form had no classical pedigree. Poggio many years later would have some success in adapting the funeral oration to broader purposes, but only at the cost of certain formal solecisms which the young Bruni, then still very much under the influence of Niccoli's classicism, found it hard to countenance. Yet Bruni's difficulties may well have been more than formal. The panegyric was an instrument that Bruni's talents well fitted him to play; he found himself able to produce dulcet insincerities on other occasions; but on this occasion he did not. Was it because writing his *Laudatio Colucii* would have forced him to praise Coluccio's Latin style, his learning, and his public service? Did the vain young man (and Bruni was very vain) feel that his own more elegant Latinity, his unique knowledge of Greek, his high position with the greatest potentate of Christendom had raised him above the glorified notary that Salutati had been? One hopes not. But it is noteworthy that when Bruni did in time come to compose a memorial for Salutati, the *Carmen pro domino Salutato*, that he did after all confine himself to "generalized praise" rather than "particular instances" of Salutati's abilities.

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<sup>16</sup> Bruni, *Ep.* II.1, ed. Mehus, I, pp. 27-30; cf. Luiso, *Studi*, p. 47.

The text of the *Carmen* was first published in Novati's edition of Salutati's letters from a manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence<sup>17</sup>. Since Novati's time the only new manuscript to surface, to my knowledge, is a nineteenth century copy of the Florentine manuscript<sup>18</sup>. Novati assigned no date to the poem, but it is natural to suppose it was written shortly after Bruni's failure with the *Laudatio Colucii* in 1408. The allusion in lines 5-6 is to the famous statement of Giangaleazzo Visconti that one of Salutati's *missive* was worth a thousand knights<sup>19</sup>. For the convenience of the reader I reproduce here Novati's text with an English translation.

*Carmen editum pro domino Coluccio per Leonardum Aretinum.*

Te Muse, te Virtutes, te docta per omnes  
 Ingenia extollunt artes; divine poeta,  
 Orator summe, studiorum gloria, iusti  
 Cultor, apollinea merito circumdate lauro.  
 Hostes me patrie multis pro milibus equant  
 Armatis: tantum potuit facundia pugnax.  
 Musarum cultor, studio celeberrimus omni  
 Ingenio patriam ornavi; me patria lauro.

("The Muses, the Virtues, the learned in every art extoll thee, divine poet, high orator, glory of studies, cultivator of the just, deservedly bedecked with Apollonian wreath. — Enemies of my country equate me to a thousand knights: such was the power of my warlike eloquence. As a worshipper of the Muses, celebrated in every branch of knowledge, my genius brought honor to my country; my country honored me with the laurel.")

### 3. *Nugae curialium*

There is no doubt that late in life Bruni had the reputation of being a

<sup>17</sup> F. Novati, *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, vol. IV (Rome 1911), p. 485; the text is taken from MS Magl. VII 1183.

<sup>18</sup> Arezzo, Biblioteca della Città di Arezzo, MS 276 (Kristeller, *Iter*, I, p. 3; cf. G. Mazzatinti and A. Sorbelli, *Inventari dei manoscritti delle Biblioteche d'Italia*, vol. VI [Forlì 1896], p. 222.)

<sup>19</sup> Novati, *Epistolario*, IV, pp. 247-48, 514.

severe and even choleric man. The portraits in Poggio's funeral oration and in Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Life* leave little doubt on that point. Poggio writes that he was generally thought difficult and hard to please, and even Vespasiano's rosy memoir admits his frequent outbursts of temper<sup>20</sup>. Less well known is a series of distichs by Maffeo Vegio complaining about Bruni's contemptuous attitude to light verse.

You grumble, Leonardo, that I write but witty trifles  
 You'd like to see my little jokes abate,  
 You think a fellow's poems must be very like his life,  
 That shallow numbers mean a shallow pate.  
 But tell me, are our painters always painting saints and virgins?  
 Don't they sometimes follow dinner with dessert?  
 Won't they also picture saucy games they never played themselves?  
 Can't they paint, and yet not act like malaperts?

Thus far we are on familiar ground. But Vegio goes on:

Surely poets have a license that's no different from a painter's,  
 And hasn't *your own tongue* had honey on it?<sup>21</sup>

*Et tua nil unquam linguane mellis habet?* Can it be that Vegio, as papal datary and secretary, had heard echoes of a younger Bruni afterwards lost in the chorus of praise for his aged *gravitas*? It is sometimes said

<sup>20</sup> Poggii Bracciolini *Oratio funebris in obitu Leonardi Arretini*, in Mehus, I, cxv-cxxvi (cxvi); Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Vite*, ed. A. Greco, 2 vols. (Florence 1970), I, pp. 463-484 (p. 479).

<sup>21</sup> *Carmina illustrium poetarum italorum*, [ed. G. G. Bottari], 11 vols. (Florence 1719-1726), X, pp. 306-307:

Quod scribam nugas quaeris, Leonarde, salesque,  
 Ne scribam nugas proinde salesque vetas.  
 Quale etenim carmen talis te iudice vita est:  
 Iudice te carmen si leve, vita levis.  
 Sed dic, num semper pictores seria pingunt?  
 An variant levibus seria saepe jocis?  
 An quoque quos numquam lusus novere procaces?  
 An pingunt quos nec perdidicere sales?  
 Pictorum nempe est eademque licentia vatium,  
 Et tua nil unquam linguane mellis habet?

This poem was probably written in the 1430s after Vegio joined the papal chancery and may have been written in response to Bruni's cutting remarks about "mere versifiers" who lacked poetic inspiration. The remarks are contained in his well-known *Ep.* VI.1 of 1429 (ed. Mehus, II, pp. 36-40) to the Sicilian poet G. Marrasio, a letter already widely circulated even before Bruni published the first version of his collected letters in the later 1430s.

that great bores are born, not made, but there is some evidence in Bruni's case of a period, before he settled permanently in Florence, when he had not yet become the ape of Cicero, when he still moved easily in that society of gay prothonotaries and exquisite deacons who thronged the papal court. This "Poggian" period of Bruni's life seems to have come to an end sometime in the second decade of the Quattrocento. Pier Candido Decembrio, in an unpublished letter, blamed Bruni's marriage for his "neglect of his friends and his literary style"<sup>22</sup>. Traversari put Bruni's changed behavior down to his incessant social-climbing. Both seem to have sensed a shift in Bruni's character that was in some degree *voulu*. For in that second decade of the century Bruni, enriched by his service to John XXIII, laid the foundations of a life far different from that of the itinerant curialist he had led hitherto. In Florence after 1415 he took up the roles of the wealthy *pater familias*, the dignified ambassador, the politic chancellor, and eventually the grave statesman — roles incompatible with the Poggian levity he had sometimes affected during his career as papal secretary.

A few faded relics survive of this period when Bruni aimed at the urbanity and polish of the courtier. We have a charming letter to Roberto Rossi in which Bruni tells how, in the midst of the worst tensions of the schism, the archbishop Alamanno Adimari spirited him and two close friends away to a villa near Lucca. Bruni describes with relish a golden day fishing in the river when they took off their gowns and shoes and "played like boys, shouted like drunkards, and scrapped together like madmen"; the day ended with a feast of roasted fish and birds, a ride on horseback, and a wrestling match staged by local peasants<sup>23</sup>. In another letter to Poggio about his marriage, after complaining about the enormous costs of Florentine weddings ("I've not so much consummated matrimony as consumed my patrimony"), Bruni goes on to describe his wedding night:

<sup>22</sup> Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Centrale, Conv. soppr. C 2, 38, f. 274<sup>r-v</sup>: "Candidus Nicolao Nicholi salutem. Si vales bene est, ego etiam valeo. Enimvero, frater optime, ex te certum habeo .... Scripsi Leonardo Arretino literam τὴν ἀγρίαυα [sic] ut me amet, sed nihil respondit, ne curat [e]quidem, ut arbitror. Enimvero postquam nubuit nec stilo opus dat [dint MS] nec amicis ut solitus scriptitat, sed tantum utitur ut [utur MS] auguror." This letter is not contained in the three *sylloge* of his letters Decembrio later collected (see V. Zaccaria, "L'epistolario di Pier Candido Decembrio," *Rinascimento*, ser. 1, 3.3 (1952), 85-118); I was led to the letter by the summary description in Kristeller, *Iter* I, p. 56.

<sup>23</sup> *Ep.* II.20, ed. Mehus, I, pp. 57-59.

Since you've asked how you're to style me in this new military service of mine, I'll describe briefly my deeds; you can then decide on the proper appellation. To speak after the military fashion — and it was you who spoke of knighthood — the forts I'd come to conquer were invested and captured the first night; it was a bloody victory. I've now taken up position in those forts; although by day I make long sorties, I return to camp at night and keep up my vigil. So decide whether you'll call me general, tribune or centurion. But if you take my advice, you'll call me a "booted soldier" [*caligatus miles*], not from *caliga* [boots] — I take them off before I go to bed — but from *caligo oculorum* [blurred vision]. For I've been awake so long I'm starting to see double<sup>24</sup>.

But the best example of Bruni's wit from this period is his *Oratio Heliogabali*, a work discussed nowhere, to my knowledge, in the voluminous literature on Bruni. The work was written in December of 1407, at about the same time Bruni was trying unsuccessfully to compose his *De laudibus Colucii*<sup>25</sup>. The *conchetto* for the speech came from a passage in the so-called *Historia Augusta*, a collection of biographies of Roman emperors compiled in late antiquity and well known to the humanists of Bruni's generation: the oldest known manuscript of the work has annotations in the hand of Poggio<sup>26</sup>. In the course of his account of the spectacular vices of the emperor Elagabalus (or Heliogabalus), the ancient compiler wrote:

He [Elagabalus] gathered together into a public building all the prostitutes from the circus, the theatre, the stadium and all public places, including the baths, and delivered a sort of military speech to them, calling them "fellow-soldiers", and lectured them on types of posture and pleasures. Afterwards he invited to a similar gathering pimps, catamites, collected from all sides, and the most

<sup>24</sup> *Ep.* III.17, ed. Mehus, I, pp. 92-94.

<sup>25</sup> Luiso, *Studi*, pp. 41, 46.

<sup>26</sup> See L. D. Reynolds, ed., *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics* (Oxford 1983), pp. 354-6. Prof. Lucia Gualdo Rosa at my request kindly examined the manuscript in question, Vatican Library Pal. lat. 899, and informs me that it contains "per tutto il codice (e non in particolare nella vita di Eliogabalo) glosse di una mano molto caratteristica che somiglia molto alla grafia del Bruni, così come è stata identificata dal Griggio" (in "Due lettere inedite del Bruni al Salutati e a Francesco Barbaro," *Rinascimento* n.s., 26 [1986], 27-50).

profligate little boys and youths. Whereas he had appeared in front of the prostitutes in women's dress, with protruding breast, he met the catamites in the costume of boys that are prostituted. After his speech, he announced a donative, as if they were soldiers, three gold pieces for each, and asked them to pray the gods that he might have others to commend to them. (Tr. Anthony Birley)<sup>27</sup>

This was Greco-Roman antiquity in the raw, and, as usual in the Renaissance, some trimming and boiling was needed to make it digestible to contemporary stomachs. Bruni suppressed the references to cross-dressing and homosexuality — a practice he followed also in his translations of Plato<sup>28</sup> — but even in heterosexual garb there was plenty to offend severe readers. In a letter of transmission to Niccoli Bruni tried to preempt his critics with an argument reminiscent of the end of the *Decameron*. Bruni's authority was not Boccaccio, however, but the poet Lucilius (cited *apud Ciceronem*)<sup>29</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> *Historiae Augustae Scriptores* 26.3. To this passage one may compare the tame summary in Bruni's argument to the *Oratio Heliogabali*. As the argument has never been published (unlike the oration proper; see note 31 below), I give here a provisional text based on two manuscripts only: West Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Lat. qu. 453, f. 85<sup>ra</sup> (B) and Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 2936, f. 69<sup>r</sup> (V).

⟨Leonardi Aretini Argumentum in orationem Heliogabali ad meretrices⟩

Heliogabalus Augustinus inter cetera notate lasciuie flagitia  
 omne genus hominum ad libidines cohortabatur, non solum priuatim,  
 uerum etiam publice. Qui et matronas romanas per edicta sua crebro  
 ad meretriciam inuitauit, collectisque ex Grecia atque Asia prestanti  
 forma mulieribus lupanaria in urbe compleuit, salariaque ex publico 5  
 ordinauit. Extat eius oratio ad meretrices habita, in qua  
 commilitones illas appellat, quo ioco aut serio fecerit incertum est.  
 Nam cum puelle recens professe parum impigre sibi uiderentur proprie  
 artis munera obire, uocatas uniuersas in contionem confirmandi et  
 cohortandi causa, sic eas allocutus est: [...] 10  
 ⟨in finem, B, f. 87<sup>vb</sup>⟩ Leonardus Aretinus recreandi ingenii  
 causa ludens ridensque dictauit. Vnde seueriores rogat ne legant,  
 urbaniores ne efferant.

1 Heliogabalus Augustinus *om.* B: Augustus uis V    2 libidinem V    3 crebre  
 V    4 meretricium V    6 qua *om.* V    8 uidentur V    10 allicitus V

<sup>28</sup> See my *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. I, Part i, passim, and vol. II, Appendix 3.

<sup>29</sup> Cicero, *De orat.* 2.6.25, gives the closest parallel; Bruni's version does not correspond precisely with any of the known fragments of Lucilius.



This highly incestuous assembly will make you laugh, I think, although I've spared you many things which I might have said had I made use of the full richness the materials of the case presented; I've been a sober man in a tavern of tosspots. Indeed, I'm fearful that both sides will be able with some justice to make accusations against me: severe folk will tell me the matter I treat of is not sufficiently grave, while the more urbane sort will blame me for being too dry when the material is so rich and juicy. Perhaps it will be thrown up against me that I should either have been entirely scrupulous or thrown away all scruple. I'm not too worried about the urbane sort if they think I've reined in too much, but I suspect that I'll have more to answer for in the case of the grave and severe. But just as Lucilius said he hadn't written for the sake of Romans, who were experienced and fussy in their judgment of poetry, but for provincials, so say I that I haven't written for the sake of grave and severe people, and I don't want to be read by them. There is another sort of men who are serious when they make jokes and joke when they are serious; who imitate neither the rigidity of Cato nor the dissolution of Scipio; who neither pretend to be a Curio nor live like Bacchanalians: and it is these people, I hope, who will read my compromise willingly and approve it without pretence. The rest may talk as they please<sup>30</sup>.

Some sense of the work may be given by the following paraphrase<sup>31</sup>.

<sup>30</sup> *Ep.* II.16, ed. Mehus, I, pp. 53-54; for the date, see Luiso, p. 46. This letter may have been intended as a letter of transmission for the *Oratio Heliogabali*, analogous to *Ep.* I.1, which often appears in manuscripts together with Bruni's translation of Plato's *Phaedo*. But to my knowledge the *Heliogabalus* appears together with *Ep.* II.16 only in Trieste, Bibl. Civica MS I.XXIV.

<sup>31</sup> My paraphrase is based on the text in *Ioannis Baptistae Egnatii Veneti De Caesaribus libri III [Historia Augusta]... Addita in calce Heliogabali principis ad meretrices elegantissima oratio non ante impressa* (Venice: Aldus 1516), two unnumbered leaves between pages 432 and 433. The *incipit* of the text is *Incredibilis me libido habet*. The text is not as rare as some scholars have believed (e.g. Luiso, *Studi*, p. 46n.) A survey of the Italian, other European and North American libraries alone has turned up 54 MSS.: Belluno, Seminario Gregoriano 49; Florence, Bibl. Laurenziana Plut. 90 sup. 50; Acq. e Doni 323; Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Magl. VII 1095; Naz. II.IX.96; Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 3021; Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana Y 91 sup.; Milan, Brera A N XV 22; Naples, Bibl. Nazionale VIII G 45; Padua, Seminario 86 and 403; Roma, Bibl. Nazionale Vitt. Eman. 999; San Daniele, Bibl. Comunale Guarn 54; Trieste, Bibl. Civica I.XXIV; Udine, Bibl. Arcivescovile 49; Venice, Bibl. Marciana lat. VI 134 (3565); Marc. lat. XI 61 (4357); Marc. lat. XI 101 (3939); Marc. lat. XIV 118 (4711); Marc. lat. XIV 219 (4631); Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 2932; Vat. lat. 2936; Vat. lat. 3154; Vat. lat. 5983; Vat. lat. 6265; Vat.

I shall restrain my customary lechery, now excited by the sight of you all arrayed about me with wanton faces and protruding breasts, in order to address you, rather, as fellow soldiers. I do not so address you merely to win your favor — I have other means of doing that, as many of you have experienced — but because this title is appropriate. For you *are* soldiers, not, to be sure, of the Roman people, but of Cupid; and in this army I am not your Emperor, but a simple legionary, however outstanding. The marshal of this army, I say, is Cupid, and one cannot but admire the generalship by which he is able to pitch camp on the very doorstep of the Empress of Nations, handing down the laws of lust in contempt of the Senate and the censors. Being, however, able to do what I please in this city, I have called you together today to express my deep sense of gratitude for your outstanding services to your Country in that noble and most useful art you practice. I have before now by public decree recognized your contribution; nay, I have gone further and recommended your art to the matrons of Rome (especially the good-looking ones), offering them immunities, legal protections and even public salaries to cultivate it. But my entreaties have fallen on deaf ears. There is not one of them who does not practice your art behind closed doors, but their idiotic modesty and degenerate cowardice prevents them from admitting openly their vocation. Even you, the professionals, seem to be increasingly lukewarm in carrying out your duties.

I shall return to your case, however, in a moment; at present let it be our aim properly to abuse the matrons of Rome. I should like

lat. 14111; Chicago, University Library MS 32; New Haven, Yale University, Marston MS 250; New York City, Collection of Phyllis Gordan MS 150; Barcelona, Biblioteca Central 1582; Berlin Staatsbibliothek Stiftung-Preussischer Kulturbesitz lat. qu. 433 and 453, lat. fol. 557 and 667; Coburg, Landesbibliothek s IV 2, 41; Gouda, Stedelijke Librije 1324; London, British Library Cotton Tiberius B VI; Harl. 2268; Harl. 3716; Harl. 5411; Manchester, John Rylands University Library Lat. 380 and 3 f 32; Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm 350, Clm 504 and Clm 6721; Universitätsbibliothek 4° 1,768; Olomouc, Univ. Library M II 58; Oxford, Bodleian Library Add. C 264; Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 17888; nouv. acq. lat. 134; Collection Moreau 848; Stuttgart, Landesbibliothek Hist. qu. 11; Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale 2289; Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek M. ch. g. 136. After the work was first printed by Aldus in 1516 as a pendant to his edition of the *Historiae Augustae scriptores* it was reprinted several times with subsequent editions of the same text, viz. Basel 1518, Florence 1519, Venice 1519, Cologne 1527, Leiden 1632 [ed. M. Z. Boxhorn]. None of these editions contains Bruni's argument (see note 27).

to know why they are afraid openly to profess prostitution. Is it because the name prostitute (*meretrix*) sounds mercenary? But soldiers too earn (*mereri*) wages and no one thinks them dishonorable; *meretrix* is derived from “merit”, just as *victrix* and *inventrix* are derived from “victory” and “invention”. Perhaps, then, it is the thing, not the name, that repels them? But Roman matrons for centuries have performed behind closed doors the most outstanding deeds of adultery, incest, and unnatural vice. Need I remind you of Clodia, Paulina, Caesonia, Servilia, Pompeia, Quinctia, Octavia, and innumerable others? The great houses of the city are so many houses of ill-fame. Why should it be worse to perform an act in public than to perform it among one’s domestic gods? What slave, peasant, horse-boy, or baker can pass through the streets without being accosted by the virtuous wives of Rome? Why should it be better to copulate privately with the dregs of mankind for the mere satisfaction of lust than to satisfy fellow-citizens publicly for an honest wage? If professional prostitutes are soldiers of Cupid, performing openly a public service, these skulking amateurs are nothing but muggers, lying in wait in alleyways to take the unwary by surprise.

But enough of this subject. I am moved, my fellow soldiers, to reveal to you a project dear to my heart. For I have long desired to pass a law instituting marital communism. With the help of the gods, it will be a glorious and useful law increasing our pleasure and profit in addition to our offspring. Everyone will be able to seek a partner to his liking; all those discords and lawsuits arising from the irreconcilable differences incident to the married state will disappear. “O happy state, o blessed commonwealth, o fortunate lads and lasses, how great is the benefit the gods have reserved for you in this my reign! How much more excellent is life you will lead from now on than the life that was led under the severity of the kings and consuls! The latter acted in accordance with the strictest laws, prohibiting anything that was desired; you shall have instant enjoyment of whatever pleases your eye and catches your fancy.” That’s the sort of thing I shall say to the people when I promulgate the new law.

I should like now to return to your case, my fellow soldiers. Your services to the state have been great, but if I may permit myself a word of criticism, far too many of you have labored under

a serious misapprehension in the discharge of your duties. Some of you appear to believe that the sum and substance of your office lies in the passive acceptance of sexual advances. This, if I may say so, is not good strategy. Attack is more effective than defense. You must lay siege to the camps of modesty with every art at your disposal; you must not simply accost, but compel. The half-hearted whore is a bad whore. Above all, frigidity and shame must be entirely rooted out; both are hateful to Cupid as well as in themselves foolish. The sense of shame is but a mask for cowardice. The noble soul is one that indulges its lust to the greatest possible extent.

Let me set before you an example for your edification. Recently, as I stood before the temple of Tellus, I was delighted to see a member of your company seize a youth who was crossing the forum and cover him with kisses. (This aroused considerable amusement among passers-by.) The youth, blushing to the roots, tried to fight back, but she fearlessly went on kissing him, even nibbling at him a bit. When he asked what she thought she was doing, she made bold to reply that she loved him.

Now that's what I call a distinguished piece of pandering. True liberty is neither obedience to laws nor control of appetites; it is to obey nature and follow her as man's best guide. For my part I think those legislators of old were envious of popular felicity when they prohibited the greatest pleasures, in which human beatitude consists, bidding men perform all that is painful and prohibiting all that is sweet. So I abjure you to imitate this outstanding example of impudence. I shall support you every step of the way with my imperial authority. Lie down, then, to your work; don't simply wait for opportunities, but seek them out. "Put off every idiotic and degenerate impulse to modesty, and in the alleys, in the squares, in the forum, in the playing-grounds, in the theatres, yea, in the very temples of the immortal gods, spread out, hold, seize and seduce at every moment every genus of mankind, of every age, but especially the young. And as far as my imperial munificence is concerned, just as medals and decorations are proffered to brave men in the bloody companies of Mars, so your own distinguished deeds of lust in Cupid's army will be magnificently rewarded."

The *Oratio Heliogabali* was not an isolated instance of Bruni's taste for classical ribaldry. In one of the earliest codices containing the

*Oratio*, written by a Florentine scribe in 1421, there is what seems to be another effusion from the wit of the young curialist, the *Hendecasyllabics Against Galla*. The existence of the poem was first noted by Ludwig Bertalot in 1931, who described it coyly as a "Scheltgedicht auf die ungetreue Geliebte"<sup>32</sup>. In fact it is a grossly obscene invective, modelled closely on Catullus 41-43, with echoes as well of Catullus 11 and 34, Juvenal 1.26, and perhaps the *Priapeia*<sup>33</sup>. The poem constitutes, indeed, the first known attempt since antiquity to imitate any work of Catullus<sup>34</sup>. I am afraid it was intended to be amusing.

As the poem is assigned to Bruni in a codex written during his own lifetime by a Florentine scribe — a codex which contains otherwise only

<sup>32</sup> Bertalot, *Studien*, II, p. 394 gave only the incipit and three shelfmarks: Naples, [Biblioteca Nazionale] V E 18 and VIII G 45 and Seville, Biblioteca [Capitular y] Colombina 7.1.36, ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29<sup>r</sup>. I have seen the Seville codex (s. XV 2/4) only on microfilm; its contents are given in *Iter* IV, p. 623. There are also short descriptions of the two Neapolitan manuscripts in *Iter* I, pp. 416 and 428; I shall give here a fuller description of the oldest of the three manuscripts, Naples VIII G 45:

170x125 (*specchio* 110x65); III (cart., modern) + 103 (mbr., modern numeration) + VII (mbr., blank, unnumbered) + III (cart., modern); bound (s. XVIII ex.) in mottled brown paper over pasteboard. Partly palimpsest, dryruled; written in brown ink in a single semihumanistic script; initials painted in blue. Gatherings: 1-12<sup>8</sup> 13<sup>6</sup> [-1,-8] 14<sup>8</sup>. Offset on f. [110<sup>v</sup>] of another text, the word "[T]Rattandosi" legible at the beginning. Ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>: pseudo-Aristotle, *Economics* [Books I and 3], Latin translation and commentary by Bruni, with a colophon at the end: "Finis commentarii super primo libro Economicorum. Leonardus Aretinus edidit. Scriptus per me Andream de Arnoldis de Florentia in mense Junii 1421." Ff. 31<sup>v</sup>-32<sup>v</sup>: blank. Ff. 33<sup>r</sup>-96<sup>r</sup>: Plutarch, *Vita Marci Antonii*, Latin translation by Bruni, with colophon: "finita per me Andream de Arnoldis de Florentia in mense Augusti 1421." F. 96<sup>v</sup>: blank. Ff. 97<sup>r</sup>-102<sup>v</sup>: [Bruni, *Oratio Heliogabali ad meretrices*, fragmentary at the beginning and end]. F. 103<sup>r-v</sup>. Bruni, *Hendecasyllabics Against Galla*.

To Kristeller's description of Naples V E 18 I shall add only that the manuscript is written in several humanistic hands of the third quarter of the fifteenth century, that the "collection of inscriptions" on ff. 1<sup>r</sup>-41<sup>r</sup> (current foliation) is in the hand of Cyriac of Ancona, and that on f. 200<sup>v</sup> (current foliation), immediately preceding the Bruni poem, is the text *Galli poete ad Lydiam puellam, inc.* Lydia bella puella candida.

<sup>33</sup> See Mariotti's study of the pseudo-Gallan redaction of the same poem (cited note 35 below).

<sup>34</sup> I owe this point to Prof. Julia Gaisser, who has compiled the article on Catullus for the *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, ed. V. Brown, F. Edward Cranz and P. O. Kristeller, vol. VII (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, in press), and is also preparing a book-length study of Catullus' reception in the Renaissance. See also W. Ludwig, "Catullus renatus: Anfänge und frühe Entwicklung des catullischen Stils in der neulateinischen Dichtung," in *Litterae Neolatinae* (Munich 1989), pp. 162-94.

unquestionably genuine works of Bruni — the attribution might be thought secure. But there are some obstacles to be overcome. The chief of these is the existence of another redaction of the poem which circulates under the name of the Roman poet Gallus and survives in two manuscripts of the second half of the fifteenth century<sup>35</sup>. This redaction substitutes, for the "Aretine barber" of the Bruni version, one *Niliacus*, "Nile-dweller", presumably meant to recall the historical Gallus' career as prefect of Egypt. There is, furthermore, a report in the *Annales* of Pietro Ravennate, under the year 1372, that the minor poet Jacopo Allegretti of Forlì (d. 1393) "found a number of hendecasyllabics of C. Gallus, the poet of Forlì"<sup>36</sup>. This report might lead one to suspect the pseudo-Gallus poem was actually written by Allegretti, and only later made its way under Bruni's name. The misattribution of works of less famous writers to Bruni is a very common phenomenon in the fifteenth century; the present writer has found over eighty-five pseudobruniana in contemporary manuscripts and incunabula. And the attribution to Allegretti appears to receive further support from the circumstance that in one of the manuscripts of the pseudo-Gallan redaction, Gallus is also qualified, again incorrectly, as "poeta Forliviensis"<sup>37</sup>. There would seem, then, to be a case for attributing the poem to Allegretti rather than Bruni.

Scevola Mariotti, however, who did not know of the Brunian redaction of the poem, tried to show that the poem could not have been forged before the second half of the fifteenth century. Having edited the poem and identified its Catullan sources, he argued that the precise text of Catullus presupposed by the imitator did not emerge until the later fifteenth century. This argument is of course sufficiently refuted by the existence of a manuscript of the Brunian redaction securely dated to 1421<sup>38</sup>. But Mariotti also advanced other valid arguments against the

<sup>35</sup> See S. Mariotti, "Cornelii Galli Hendecasyllabi," in *Tra latino e volgare: Per Carlo Dionisotti*, ed. Gabriella Bernardoni Trezzini et al. (Padua 1974). This article was kindly brought to my attention by Prof. Gaiser.

<sup>36</sup> The text is cited in A. F. Massera, "Iacopo Allegretti da Forlì," *Atti e memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie di Romagna*, ser. 4, 16 (1926), 139, note 2. On Allegretti see also *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. II (Rome 1960), pp. 475-76; and D. Rossi, *Le Egloghe Viscontee di Jacopo Allegretti* (Hildesheim-New York 1984).

<sup>37</sup> Mariotti, "Galli", p. 548.

<sup>38</sup> Mariotti (*ibid.*, pp. 561-62) gave only three examples of how the text presupposed by pseudo-Gallus was superior to the texts in circulation before the second half of the fifteenth century, but all of these, in my opinion, are far from decisive. In the first example, the conjecture of *ferreo* for *ferre o* is a simple one. In the third example the

attribution of the work to Alleghretti. As he observes, the report in Pietro Ravennate says only that Alleghretti “found” the pseudo- Gallan hendecasyllables, not that he composed them. No doubt it is perfectly possible that this was Pietro’s way of saying Alleghretti forged the poem, but it might also be the case that Alleghretti discovered an earlier forgery. All the other surviving poetry from Alleghretti’s hand is in hexameters or distichs. There is, moreover, no explicit connection between our pseudo-Gallus poem, *O mei procul*, and Alleghretti. Mariotti further points out that the confusion of *Foroliviensis* with *Foroiuliensis* (Fréjus, Gallus’ actual birthplace) is a common one and appears in many other manuscripts of pseudo-Gallus poems. And there is at least one other plausible candidate for the pseudo-Gallus poem “found” by Alleghretti, namely the lyric *Lydia bella*, written in accentual hendecasyllabics. Indeed, A. F. Massèra, the chief authority on Alleghretti, identified this poem “senza dubbio” with Alleghretti’s *trouve*, rather than the *O mei procul*<sup>39</sup>. The oldest manuscript of the *Lydia bella* is found together with the unique copy of Antonio Loschi’s metrical epistles, and Loschi was a close friend and associate of Alleghretti’s at least from the 1380s<sup>40</sup>.

The strongest argument, however, against identifying the author of the poem as Alleghretti (or as some earlier forger) is given by the *O mei procul* itself. For it is most unlikely that the poem could have been originally intended as a *Fälschung* of Gallus. Forgeries usually try to provide some internal guarantee of their own authenticity, but such is not the case here. It was, for instance, well-known from Vergil’s *Tenth Eclogue* (and Servius’ commentary thereon) that the object of Gallus’ passion was a certain Lycoris, but our forger prefers to address Gallus’ *innamorata* as “Galla”. There is no ancient evidence and (to my knowledge) no medieval report that Gallus wrote hendecasyllables; Vergil and Quintilian (10.1.93) speak of elegies and epyllia. It seems, further, unlikely that anyone who wished to pose as Gallus would produce so obvious an imitation — really a pastiche — of Catullus. And, as Mariotti again points out, the geography of the pseudo-Gallan

emendation to *puella* ... *convocate* from *puell(a)e* ... *convocare* appears as early as 1430 (see D. F. S. Thompson, *Catullus: A Critical Edition* [Chapel Hill 1978], pp. 105 and 50-51). But insofar as his argument has any weight it must favor an attribution to Bruni rather than to Alleghretti.

<sup>39</sup> Massèra, “Alleghretti,” p. 159.

<sup>40</sup> Bologna, Univ. MS 3977; see *ibid.* and Mariotti, “Galli”, p. 546, note 3.

poem as we have it is extremely awkward<sup>41</sup>. But if we replace the Egyptian “Niliacus” with the Aretine barber of the Bruni redaction, the topographical situation makes perfect sense.

The priority of the Bruni to the pseudo-Gallus redaction is also suggested by a comparison of their variants. The Bruni poem has one line that is missing in pseudo-Gallus; this in itself is not decisive, of course, but it is an indication. Four corrections or emendations to pseudo-Gallus suggested by Mariotti are confirmed by the Bruni redaction. Again, line 12 *percitemur*, line 19 *te amare*, line 29 *inter socios*, and line 43 *tenetur* are all readings superior to those offered by the two manuscripts of pseudo-Gallus. The Brunian version has a false quantity in line 25 *Aretium*, but that is the sort of mistake Bruni might easily have made. Line 12 *impudentia percitemur ora* and line 45 *O tonsoris amica sordidosi* are, in addition, marginally closer to their Catullan models (42, 17 *ferreo canis exprimamus ore* and 41, 4 *decoctoris amica Formiani*) than the pseudo-Gallan variants. Elsewhere, there are signs that pseudo-Gallus has made some effort to remove the worst of Bruni’s prosodical lapses: he drops the metrically hopeless line 20 and changes *haud* to *non* in line 48. In sum, the hypothesis which best fits the facts is that an imitation of Catullus has been clumsily altered to pseudo-Gallus by a late fifteenth-century forger<sup>42</sup>.

If the poem can be taken as autobiographical — and there is no

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., p. 564: “... la localizzazione in Egitto dell’amore di Gallo renderebbe tutta la situazione estremamente inverosimile. Dalla chiusa del carme dovremmo immaginare una Galla che fa la spola fra la *patria* (Roma?) e una lontanissima *provincia* e verrebbe fatto di chiedersi se in 42 [44] sgg. Gallo si rivolga dall’Egitto a gente che abita a migliaia di chilometri di distanza o se per caso anche i parenti di Galla si fossero trasferiti laggiù. ... Da una lettura impregiudicata del carme si ha la netta impressione che tutto si svolga in un ristretto ambito geografico e che con la sonora chiusa *in patria provinciaque* l’autore abbia voluto soltanto aumentare l’effetto della sua accusa facendo teatro dei tradimenti di Galla non solo la città dei vv. 23 [25] sgg., ma anche i dintorni, la “regione”, abbia cioè usato *provincia* in questa accezione non classica.”

<sup>42</sup> It is likely we possess the link between the Brunian and pseudo-Gallan redactions of the poem in *n*, which like the Cesena manuscript has *Lydia bella* (“Galli poete ad Lydiam puellam”) followed by *O mei procul*. Even more strikingly, *n* has transposition dots written into the margin next to lines 37-44; this transposition is carried out in the pseudo-Gallan text. *n* is an adscript of *N*, and *n*, in turn, seems on paleographical grounds somewhat earlier than either pseudo-Gallan manuscript. Augusto Campana (Mariotti, “Galli”, p. 567) assigned a Romagnole provenance to the Cesena manuscript, which might help link it with Cyriac of Ancona, the scribe of part of *n*. It may be plausibly supposed that the scribe, after copying one piece by (pseudo) Gallus, decided to make his codex more valuable by altering the rubric of the *O mei procul* from Bruni to Gallus, changing a few telltale details so as to give verisimilitude to the forgery.



reason, apart from *pietas bruniana*, to assume otherwise — the question naturally arises *when* Bruni might have maintained his concubine in Arezzo and when she abandoned him for her better-equipped barber. To this question we can give only guesses. The only other echo of Catullus I have found in Bruni's writings is in his *Epistula II.16* (Siena, 7 January 1408), where, sending him a copy of his *Oratio Heliogabali*, he tells Niccoli that he will ignore the opinions of the mob if only the oration give satisfaction to himself and Niccoli, for *eorum opiniones et oblocutiones vix unius assis existimo*<sup>43</sup>. We know that Bruni's close associate in the curia, Poggio, was studying Catullus around 1406/7<sup>44</sup>. This is hardly decisive evidence, but the affair is, surely, less likely to have taken place after Bruni's marriage in 1412, and most unlikely to postdate 1419, the year when Bruni began self-righteously to quarrel with his former friend Niccoli because the latter was himself keeping a concubine.

The quarrel with Niccoli lasted from 1419 until 1426, when Francesco Barbaro, superficially at least, effected a reconciliation. Two years after the beginning of the feud the earliest known manuscript of Bruni's poem *In Gallam* was written by "Andreas de Arnoldis de Florentia"<sup>45</sup>. Can this be only coincidence? Might it not be that Niccoli, to defend himself against Bruni's public censures, circulated an old poem of Bruni's which showed that Bruni had himself once indulged in the vice he now condemned? Or was it perhaps Niccoli's friend Ambrogio Traversari, the target of Bruni's *Oration Against the Hypocrites* (1417), who passed around Florence a codex containing, in striking juxtaposition, both Bruni's Aristotelian platitudes on the moral government of families (1420) and his youthful *jeux d'esprit*, the *Oratio Heliogabali* and the *Hendecasyllabics Against Galla*?

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Catullus 5.3. For the text and date of *Ep. II.16* see note 30. There is a further reference to Catullus in Bruni's *Ep. VIII.7* (Luiso VIII.14) of 1440, where Bruni cites Catullus as an authority for the adjectival form *Comensis*.

<sup>44</sup> A. C. de la Mare and D. F. S. Thomson, "Poggio's Earliest Manuscript?" *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 16 (1973), 179-95; Thomson, *Catullus*, pp. 31-32. I am informed by Prof. Gualdo Rosa that Vatican Library, MS Ottob. lat. 1829, containing the text of Catullus, has notes which may be in a youthful version of Bruni's hand.

<sup>45</sup> Bruni's first written accusation against Niccoli for concubinage was made in a letter (*Ep. V.4*, ed. Mehus II, pp. 17-25) of 31 January 1421, only six months before the Naples manuscript was written.

*Redactio bruniana:*N = Neapol. Bibl. Nat. cod. VIII G 45, f. 103<sup>r-v</sup>n = Neapol. Bibl. Nat. cod. V E 18, f. 201<sup>r-v</sup>S = Hispal. Bibl. Capit. et Columb. cod. 7-1-36, ff. 28<sup>v</sup>-29<sup>v</sup>

B = consensus lectionum in N, n, S

*Redactio pseudogallana:*L = Florent. Bibl. Mediceo-Laurentiana Aedil. 203, f. 185<sup>r-v</sup>M = Caesen. Bibl. Malatestiana S XXIX 19, f. 123<sup>r-v</sup>

## Incipiunt endecasyllabi Leonardi Aretini

O mei procul ite nunc amores,  
ite nunc Veneres Cupidinesque  
quicquid et fuit antea iocundum!  
Galla me, o superi, impie fefellit, 5  
Galla, proh superi, impudica mechos  
pretulit mihi clanculum trecentos. /S: f. 29<sup>r</sup>/  
O scelesta, potes pati hec nefanda?  
nec uidere pudet diem atque lucem  
nec uero metuis truces iambos? 10  
Surgite, endecasyllabi, repente!  
impudentia percitemur (*sic!*) ora!  
clamate! audiat ista mecha turpis.  
'Scortum uulgare, putidum lupanar,  
publice stabulum et cloaca gentis, 15  
Vas urine olidum, uorago penum,  
sordido meritorie taberne  
scorto putidior lutosiorque,

---

1 *tit.* L. aretini in Gallam Iambicum *n*: Leonardi aretini in Gallam S  
2 nunc *in ras.* N 4 et *om.* S 6 Zalla S 8 petes S 9 uideri S  
atque] ac *n* 12 precipitemur S 13 audiat] uideat S 14 uigilare S

---

1 *tit.* Cornelii Galli hendecasyllabi 5 impie] impia LM 9 atque *scr.*  
Mariotti] ac LMn 12 percitemur] percitentur L: precipitentur M

ten ego aspiciam? te amare possim?  
 Bella tu amplius mihi uideare, 20  
 nec pares oculos habens nec ora  
 munda nec faciem, ut prius, uenustam,  
 mala, quin etiam abstinente lingua  
 nec mundo pede nec manu pudenti?  
 Nouit Aretium tuum pudorem, 25  
 cum tu concubias uagata noctes  
 custos impauida trementis arcis, /N: f. 103\*/  
 tonsorem tuum adusque uentitabas /n: f. 201\*/  
 atque inter socios pudore misso, /S: f. 29\*/  
 ardens et nimium impudica mecha, 30  
 Illius inguina turpe palpitasti.  
 Salue Penelope et pudica Dido  
 ac Lucretia castitatis instar!  
 Te Diana suis cupit magistram  
 dare virginibus tuumque Vesta 35  
 nomen predicat omnibus sacellis.  
 Sed nil uerba facit neque his mouetur;  
 heret mentula nanque fixa cordi  
 auresque obstruit. Ergo colloquamur  
 suis qui rabiem domare possunt: 40  
 'Agnati, quibus imminet propinque  
 cura, quid facitis? furit puella  
 effrenis neque iam tenetur ullo  
 pudore in patria prouintiaque.'  
 O tonsoris amica sordidosi, 45  
 sola qui tibi mentula probatur,

---

23 abstinere S    25 Aretinus S, *fort. ex redact. post.*    26 te concubiat S,  
*fort. ex redact. post.*    27 -tis in ras. N    31 Illius B] Huius *corr. Mariotti*  
 inguina *post corr.* N    37 neque his] isque nil S    37-44 *post lin. 49 transp.*  
 n    41 propinqu& N    43 nanque S

---

19 te amare] ten videre LM    20 Bella — uideare *om.* LM    21 habens]  
 habes LM    25 Aretium] Niliacus LM    26 concubias uagata noctes] concu-  
 bia uagata nocte M: concubitus uacata noctes L    28 tonsorem] amicum LM  
 29 inter] intus L: melius M    socios] socio *Mariotti*: sotios LM    31 Illius]  
 Huius *corr. Mariotti*    34 cupit B: *corr. Mariotti*] cupiat LM    37-44 *post*  
*lin. 49 transp.* LM    40 qui B, *post corr. M.*] q(uae) L, *prim. man. in M*    43  
 tenetur] movetur LM    45 tonsoris] Niliaci LM

recte nos alios nil esse ducis,  
 quos tanta inguina haud habere nosti.  
 Desine aspicere ac uidere lucem!

Finis.

48 inguina] iniuria *nS*      haud *om. S*

48 haud] non *LM*      49 ac videre *B: con. Mariotti]* diem ac videre *L: diem*  
 ac *M*

4. *Civic Squabbles*

When Bruni returned to Florence in 1415 after his escape from the Council of Constance he was ready for a season of literary retirement. The last decade of the Great Schism, which coincided with his period of service as papal secretary, had been full of tension, controversy, and bitterness. False hopes had continually been raised only to be dashed; the papal court, shrunken in size and dignity, had been driven in misery from one town to the next; the needs of the Church and of Christendom had been mocked by the disillusioning spectacle of clerical ambition and hypocrisy. Throughout this period Florence had been for Bruni a lost paradise of literary joys to which he longed to return. Chief among these joys was the companionship (and the library) of his great friend Niccolò Niccoli.

If Bruni had hoped for a renewal of his old friendship with Niccoli after his return to Florence, he was soon to be disappointed. The relationship between the two had altered over the years. When Bruni was a young student in Florence, Niccoli had been a glamorous figure: rich, cultivated, well-connected, of a respectable if not ancient Florentine family. According to Traversari, Bruni regarded Niccoli in this period with something akin to hero-worship. Bruni himself had been but an impoverished immigrant from Arezzo with little to rely upon beyond his native wit. By 1415, however, things had changed. Bruni had become a wealthy man, thanks to the generosity of John XXIII, and he had made a good marriage into a Florentine family with some claim to belong to the *reggimento*. He had served for a decade as a high official of the titular head of Christendom. He had won international fame as a man of letters. Niccoli, by contrast, had already begun the decline into genteel poverty which made him dependent in his later years on the generosity of Cosimo de' Medici. He continued to claim, as

he had done for fifteen years, to be the *arbiter elegantiarum* of Latin letters in Florence, yet in all that time he had not deigned or dared to come before the public with any composition of his own. He had become the intimate of the Camaldulensian monk, Ambrogio Traversari, whom Bruni despised as a clerical hypocrite. Some cooling in Bruni's friendship with Niccoli was then, perhaps, inevitable; what actually transpired was an explosion.

It is unnecessary to rehearse in detail the history of the quarrel between Bruni and Niccoli as the circumstances have now been admirably reconstructed by Martin Davies<sup>46</sup>. It may however be useful to explore some of the deeper causes of the falling-out. Until the time of his marriage in 1412 Bruni was very much under the influence of Niccoli's classical snobbery; this is shown clearly by his correspondence and especially by the *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum* (1404/5), in which Bruni (in both books) accepts Niccoli's negative valuation of the "three crowns of Florence", Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio<sup>47</sup>. Like Poggio, Bruni aimed throughout this period to return to Florence and enjoy the leisured life of the literary *scioperato* led by Niccoli (and before him by Petrarch). After his marriage, however, Bruni began to feel the weight of greater responsibilities. In addition to his new family (a son, Donato, was born late in 1412), Bruni had in effect become (if we may trust his own account) the prime minister of John XXIII and shared in all his troubles; his literary output shrank to nothing in the years 1412-1415<sup>48</sup>. The Bruni who returned to Florence in 1415, after his pope had been deposed by the Council of Constance, was a far more sober-minded man than the classical aesthete who had departed Florence for Rome a decade earlier.

It seems in fact that Bruni around 1415 began to identify himself more closely with his favorite author, Cicero<sup>49</sup>. Like Cicero, he had

<sup>46</sup> "An Emperor Without Clothes? Niccolò Niccoli Under Attack," *Italia medioevale e umanistica* 30 (1987), 95-148.

<sup>47</sup> See D. Quint, "Humanism and Modernity: A Reconsideration of Bruni's *Dialogues*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38.3 (1985), 423-445; for the date, see my *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II, Appendix 1. It is likely that Bruni wrote the *Dialogi* as a way of restoring his reputation as a good Guelf (damaged by his association with Niccoli) in the hope of succeeding Salutati as chancellor.

<sup>48</sup> On Donato di Leonardo Bruni see Luiso, *Studi*, p. 80; for Bruni's role in the pontificate of John XXIII, see his *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, ed. C. di Piero, in *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, n.s., XIX, iv (Bologna 1926), pp. 439-445.

<sup>49</sup> The parallels between Bruni's career and Cicero's are brought out implicitly in Bruni's biography of Cicero, the *Cicero novus*. Excerpts from this text may be found in

suffered high winds of fortune which had left his career shipwrecked. Like Cicero he was withdrawing temporarily to literary retirement, but — again like Cicero — he conceived of that retirement as but another means of serving the state. Repeatedly in the period 1415-1427 he stresses that his literary vigils are undertaken for the common good, not for his private delectation. It is in this period that Bruni gives up his clerical status, thus irretrievably transferring his loyalties from the Church to the Republic<sup>50</sup>. It is in this period that he takes his first steps in public life<sup>51</sup>. And it is in this period — not in 1402 — that Bruni begins for the first time to insist that the active life has its own “proper esteem and merit”, alongside of the contemplative life.

It was probably the quarrel with Niccoli that made Bruni realize the distance he had travelled from his youthful self. Bruni's invective against Niccoli *In nebulonem maledicum*, written in 1424, can be read almost as a palinode for the *Dialogi ad Petrum Histrum*, of which it contains more than a few echoes<sup>52</sup>. Formally it is modelled on Cicero's *In Pisonem*, and its comparison of the productive, public-spirited Bruni with Niccoli, the useless voluptuary, owes much to Cicero's comparison of himself with the Epicurean Lucius Calpurnius Piso. Niccoli is attacked for his enormous vanity, his vicious tongue, his laziness, and his snobbery. Niccoli vilifies any modern who attempts to benefit his country through literature; only the classical writers are good enough for him. It is almost an honor to be attacked by Niccoli since he has slandered such outstanding men as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and St. Thomas Aquinas. Niccoli was personally responsible for driving Chry-

Baron, *Bruni Schriften*, pp. 113-120; the full text is in A. Mai, ed., *M. T. Ciceronis sex orationum partes ante nostram aetatem ineditae* (Milan 1817), pp. 255-301.

<sup>50</sup> See the article of G. Gualdo, “Leonardo Bruni segretario apostolico, 1405-1415,” forthcoming in the acts of the conference, *Leonardo Bruni cancelliere della Repubblica fiorentina*, ed. P. Viti (Florence: Leo S. Olschki).

<sup>51</sup> For Bruni's embassies to the Pope and to the papal governor of Forlì in this period, see my *Plato in the Italian Renaissance*, II, Appendix 2.

<sup>52</sup> The *In Nebulonem maledicum* was edited by Giuseppe Zippel in *Niccolò Niccoli* (Florence 1890), and reprinted in idem, *Storia e cultura del Rinascimento italiano*, ed. Gianni Zippel (Padua 1979), pp. 128-141. Among several conscious parallels between the *In Nebulonem* and the *Dialogi*, one may note the passage at the end of Book Two (ed. E. Garin, *Prosatori latini del Quattrocento* [Milan — Naples 1952], p. 74) where Salutati is made to say that all great authors have had their opponents, Vergil his Evangelus, Terence his Lanuvius, but Niccoli opposes not just one great author, but all, and those his fellow citizens; this criticism of Niccoli is repeated using the examples of Vergil and Cicero in the *In Nebulonem*. (Zippel, p. 133).

soloras away from Florence. Meanwhile he himself has not produced a shred of writing for the common good. He sleeps away his life in his so-called library, which is actually a glorified bookshop. Instead of raising a family and managing a productive household, thus contributing to the power of the state, he fornicates with the discarded concubine of his brother. He prides himself on his lineage when in fact his grandfather was a tavern-keeper in Pistoia.

No doubt many of these charges are exaggerated, if not false, but they show how Bruni's interpretation of himself as a *paterfamilias* and man of letters in the service of the Republic took shape in the course of his quarrel with Niccoli. Bruni's defense of the active life, a celebrated theme of his "civic humanism", may then be seen not only in the context of classical models and sources, not only as a generalized reaction of literary men to the political crises of their times. It may also be read biographically, as the fruit of Bruni's mature experience and reflection upon the excesses of his former friend Niccoli and upon those of his younger self, whose "every opinion," as Bruni had made Salutati say in the *Dialogi*, "so accords with Niccolò's that I think he would rather be wrong with him than right with me."<sup>53</sup>

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\* \* \*

Bruni, it seems, never formally published his *Oratio in nebulonem maledicum*. The text as we have it is fragmentary, and Martin Davies has argued plausibly that Bruni left it unfinished<sup>54</sup>. I am less convinced by his suggestion that Bruni intended to circulate his poem *In Nicolaum Nihili*, edited below, in place of the unfinished oration. Apart from the fact that Bruni must have known himself to be more effective in prose than in verse, there are only three manuscripts, all of Ferrarese provenance, all of the second half of the fifteenth century. This suggests rather that Bruni did not circulate the poem in Florence, but sent it to someone like Guarino (another cordial enemy of Niccoli's) for his private enjoyment.

The text was first published in 1963 by Sesto Prete from two

<sup>53</sup> *Dialogi*, ed. Garin, p. 62; the remark is a play on Cicero's famous saying *Errare malo cum Platone quam cum istis vera sentire* (*Tusc.* 1.17.39).

<sup>54</sup> Davies, "An Emperor Without Clothes?", pp. 116-117.

manuscripts<sup>55</sup>. Since then a third manuscript containing the first twelve lines of the text has been brought to light by Kristeller<sup>56</sup>. It enables us to confirm two emendations of Wendell Clausen (who helped Prete with his edition). For the edition below I have recollated the Barberini manuscript, but rely on Prete's apparatus for the variants of the Toledo codex. The false scansion in the second penthemim of line 15 is quite possibly an authorial error.

B — Vatican Library, Barb. lat. 42, ff. 311<sup>v</sup>-312<sup>r</sup>

T — Toledo, Cathedral MS 100.42. f. 94<sup>r-v</sup>

V — Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 8914, f. 128<sup>v</sup> (lines 1-12 only)

In Nicolaum Nihili

Scurra malignanti totiens qui me ore lacessis  
iam taceas moneo, ni mala ferre cupis.  
Scilicet et nimium tenuit patientia dudum,  
iamque ardor factum est quod prius alior erat. 5  
Tene ego perpetiar vitiorum immensa vorago?  
Tene ego perpetiar stulta ruina tui?  
Quid superest hominis tibi iam nisi nuda figura  
corporis? In monstrum mens tua tota ruit.  
Ira leonis inest, apri truculentia frendens, 10  
sed corda in timido pectore damma regit.  
Quis tua vel tantum latrantia senserit ora  
qui te continuo non putet esse canem?  
Iura pudicitiae quod nullo fine tueris

1 *tit. sic* T: Leonardi are. in quendam N. N. B: Leonardi aretini in scurram  
N. Nicolaum V 2 mea V 3 mala V, *emend. Clausen (a. 1964)*] male  
BT 6 ego *om.* B perpatiar B 7 ego *om.* B 8 tibi *in marg.*  
B 11 corde B tumido V damma] dona V 12 latrantia *post*  
*corr. V: con. Clausen (a. 1964)*] latrantum BT: latramentum *man. prim. in*  
V

<sup>55</sup> S. Prete, "Leonardi Bruni Aretini carmen," *Classical World* 56 (1963), 280-283; Prete published the same text a second time in his *Two Humanistic Anthologies*, Studi e Testi 230 (Vatican City 1964), pp. 86-87.

<sup>56</sup> *Iter* II, p. 345. Barb. lat. 34, despite Davies, "An Emperor", p. 119, note 99, does not contain this text (this was kindly verified for me by Virginia Brown). Vat. lat. 8914 has a cropped marginal note explaining why the text was not copied in its entirety: "<V>ersus non fini<r>i quia false erat <scriptum e>xemplar".



quodque tibi ingenium nullum † et sensus habes †. 15  
 Est asini species; asinus tu nempe videris,  
 luxuriae tantum grositiaeque valens.  
 Ex oriente venis demersus ab Aequare Rubro  
 qui modo rubricas dicere stulte queas.  
 Cetera <nam> nescis, nec si iam scire labores 20  
 plus, tibi sic asino, cum lyra dulce sonat.  
 Non est moechorum cognoscere dona Minervae;  
 vix etiam castos respicit ista dea.  
 Scire velim quid sit quod tu tam grande tumescis,  
 quid te sublimem scurra maligne vehat. 25  
 Ingenium? at nullum est. Virtus? ast haec quoque nulla,  
 ni forsán virtus est lacerare bonos.  
 An genus attollis? tecum chirographa legi  
 quod tibi avus caupo Pistoriensis erat;  
 vina ministrabat mediis lasciva tabernis, 30  
 ad te pampinea fronde 'Liee' vocans.  
 Hinc tua progenies a sanguine fulget Iuli;  
 hinc nos despectas, o Ganymedis apex!

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15 nullum et adest senium *coni. E. Robins* 21 sic *scripsit* sit *T*: sit quam  
*B* 28 An] At *B* attollis *Prete*] attollit *BT*

["You, my fashionable idler, who have so often snapped at me with your malignant jaws — I warn you now to hold your peace unless you wish to come to harm. Indeed, patience has held me back too long already and my coldness has turned hot. Shall I put up with you, you massive vortex of vices? Shall I put up with you, you foolish ruin of yourself? Is there anything human left of you now, beyond mere bodily form? Your intellect has collapsed into that of a monster. You have the anger of a lion, the gnashing truculence of a boar, yet the heart of a deer rules in your fearful breast. Who has listened to your mouth barking overmuch without immediately taking you for a dog? You resemble a donkey in your failure to preserve the laws of modesty and in your lack of intelligence and sense; donkey-like, surely, is your immense capacity for luxury and vulgarity. From the East you come, engulfed in the Red Sea, the man who can only talk stupidly of rubrics. You know nothing else, and if you tried to learn more now, you'd be

like the ass playing sweetly on the lyre. It is not the part of adulterers to understand the gifts of Minerva; that goddess scarcely shows her favor even to the chaste. I'd like to know the reason for your great arrogance, why a spiteful idler puts on such high airs. Is it your intelligence? That's nothing. Your virtue? That too is nothing, unless it's a virtue to slander the good. Or is it your lineage? I've read papers in your presence showing that your grandfather was a Pistoian tavern-keeper; he used to serve the wanton wine in the midst of his taverns, calling 'Lyaeus!' to you in your crown of vine-leaves. Thence comes your brilliant ancestry of Julian blood; that is the height from which you look down on us, O pinnacle of Ganymede!"]

### 5. *In Praise of Condottieri*

The last of Bruni's surviving poems was probably written about the same time as the verses against Niccoli. It is an admiring epitaph for the *condottiere* Braccio da Montone who was murdered after the battle of Aquila in June of 1424. Short though it is, it is the only one of Bruni's Latin poems to win broad popularity, appearing frequently in manuscript and printed anthologies of Renaissance verse<sup>57</sup>.

It will seem strange to some readers that Bruni should have occupied himself with the praise of *condottieri*. Since the publication in 1961 of

<sup>57</sup> To the thirty-four manuscripts listed by Bertalot, *Studien*, pp. 42-43, 277, 338, may be added Florence, Laurenziana Ashb. 690; Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Naz. II.IX.14 and Rossi-Cassinoli 372; Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 2330; Milan, Bibl. Ambrosiana Trotti 373; Modena, Bibl. Estense Campori 54; Parma, Bibl. Palatina Parm. 283. The text is reproduced in the following printed editions: 1) PINDARI BELLVM TROIA/NVM EX HOMERO / MAPHAEI VEGGII ASTY/ANAX / EPIGRAMMATA QUAEDAM, being the second part of GRVNII COROCOCTAE PORCEL/LI TESTAMENTVM / LAVRENTII ABSTEMII MACERA/TENSIS HECATOMYTHIVM / SECVNDVM / EIVSDEM LIBELLVS DE VERBIS COMMVNIBVS (*colophon*: Impressum Fani per Hieronymum Soncinum anno salutis Christianae MDV die VII Maii); the text is on sign. D ii<sup>r</sup> of the second collation. 2) *Aeneas Silvius De pravis mulieribus, Epitaphia clarorum virorum et alia multa* (Strasbourg 1507), sign. B V<sup>r</sup>. 3) P. Apianus and B. Amantius, *Inscriptiones sacrosanctae vetustatis* (Ingolstadt 1534), p. CLXX. 4) P. Jovius, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium* (Basel 1575), p. 123. 5) J. Gruterus, *Delitiae CC. italorum poetarum* (Frankfurt 1608), p. XLII. 6) J.B. Ferretius, *Musae lapidariae antiquorum in marmoribus carmina* (Verona 1672), p. 26. 7) O. Aicher, *Theatrum funebre* (Salzburg 1675), III, p. 23. 8) A. F. Gori, *Symbolae litterariae VIII* (Florence 1751), p. 68. 9) P. Burmannus Secundus, ed., in *Anthologia veterum latinorum epigrammatum et poematum sive Catalecta poetarum latinorum in libros VI digesta* (Amsterdam 1759), I, p. 25 [= Lib. I, Ep. XLI]. 10) J. Calmette, "Épithaphes et poèmes sur Charles VIII," *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 25 (1905), 211-222 (222).

C.C. Bayley's *War and Society in Renaissance Florence* it has become customary to think of Bruni as a great opponent of professional soldiery, the most important precursor of Machiavelli in this respect during the early Renaissance<sup>58</sup>. According to Bayley Bruni hoped to revive the old Roman custom of a citizen militia in which rank would be a function of valor and ability rather than of social caste, and was correspondingly hostile to the "Gothic" system of professional soldiers led by knights who owed their commands to ancestry rather than to virtue.

As it happens, though, Bruni spent a good deal of ink praising *condottieri*. In 1409, after leaving the service of Gregory XII, he spent some months in Rimini in the household of the famous general Carlo Malatesta. Malatesta was remarkably generous to the unemployed curialist, allowing Bruni to hunt with him and to sit with him at table, in addition to consulting him on literary matters. Yet Malatesta was infamous among the *literati* for having allowed a statue of Virgil in Mantua to be thrown into the Mincio; this became a *cause célèbre*, giving rise to a number of humanist invectives and defenses of poetry<sup>59</sup>. Bruni disagreed strongly with him about the value of reading the pagan poets<sup>60</sup>, but he admired Malatesta's wide reading and his pertinacity and resourcefulness in debate; in a late letter Bruni describes how after the day's hunting was over at sundown, he and Malatesta would engage in friendly shouting matches for the last two or three miles of the journey home<sup>61</sup>. At the end of his sojourn in Rimini, Bruni wrote a gushing letter to Niccoli praising his new hero as a *pulcherrimum priscae antiquitatis specimen*<sup>62</sup>. And years later, Bruni composed two further testimonials to his greatness. One was a letter ghost-written in 1429 for Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici after the death of their father, Giovanni di Bicci<sup>63</sup>. It was intended to win Malatesta's support for the

<sup>58</sup> With the subtitle *The De Militia of Leonardo Bruni* (Toronto 1961).

<sup>59</sup> See D.J.B. Robey, "Vergil's Statue at Mantua and the Defence of Poetry: An Unpublished Letter of 1397," *Rinascimento*, n.s., 9 (1969), 191-203 for an account with further references.

<sup>60</sup> See his *De studiis et literis*, ed. Baron, *Bruni Schriften*, p. 17; the text was dedicated to Malatesta's learned daughter Battista.

<sup>61</sup> *Ep.* VI.7, ed. Mehus, II, pp. 51-52. See also Bruni's *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, cit., p. 439.

<sup>62</sup> *Ep.* III.9, ed. Mehus, I, pp. 76-83.

<sup>63</sup> Edited with commentary in Appendix A of my article, "The Humanist, the Banker, and the Condottiere: A Letter of Cosimo and Lorenzo de' Medici to Carlo Malatesta Written by Leonardo Bruni", forthcoming in *Studies in Medieval Culture and Society in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, jr.*, ed. J. Monfasani and R. Musto (Italica Press).

two brothers after the death of their father, and was mostly taken up with flattery of the old warlord. The other was a consolatory letter written on behalf of the Florentine Signoria to Carlo's family after the death, only six months later, of Malatesta himself. Here, too, Bruni showed a warmth of praise that seems to go beyond a merely official expression of condolence<sup>64</sup>.

Bruni also wrote two orations in praise of *condottieri*. The first was a literary oration, the *Oratio in funere Nanni Strozzeae*. Hans Baron has made the first part of this speech famous as the fullest expression of Bruni's "civic humanism", but its latter part, which has been much less studied, is a panegyric in praise of Nanni degli Strozzi, a *condottiere* of Florentine extraction who spent most of his career in the service of the Marquess of Ferrara<sup>65</sup>. The second speech, in Italian, was actually delivered by Bruni in his capacity of chancellor from the *ringhiera* or platform built outside the Palazzo Vecchio. The occasion was the feast of San Giovanni Battista (24 June) in 1431, which also happened to be the beginning of campaigning season; the Florentine captain-general Niccolò da Tolentino had just been presented with the banner of the commune, a marshal's baton, a silver helmet, and a horse caparisoned with purple and gilt cloth. Bruni's speech praised Niccolò in the most extravagant terms, beginning with the declaration — surely a ringing endorsement of the active life — that Camillus and Marius had been far more useful to the Roman commonwealth than Plato and Aristotle had ever been to the Greeks. "Cede il sommo filosofo al sommo capitano, né Platone ad Alessandro, né Aristotile a Cesare sono ad essere comparati."<sup>66</sup>

Bruni's last writing in praise of a mercenary general was also written *pro parte Comunis*. It was not properly a *missive* — at least it does not appear among surviving collections of Bruni's *missive* — but was rather a *littera patens* circulated for propaganda purposes, like Bruni's better-

<sup>64</sup> The letter, dated 20 September 1429, is preserved in Florence, Archivio di Stato, Signori, Missive Ia Cancelleria vol. 32, ff. 128<sup>v</sup>-129<sup>v</sup>, and in Vatican Library, Chigi J IV 119, ff. 261<sup>r</sup>-262<sup>r</sup>.

<sup>65</sup> The text is in *Stephani Baluzii Tutelensis Miscellanea novo ordine digesta ... et aucta*, ed. G. D. Mansi, IV (Lucca 1764), cols. 2-7.

<sup>66</sup> *Orazione di Leonardo Bruni Aretino detta a Nicolò da Tolentino*, ed. O. Gamurrini (Florence 1877). The text had previously been edited in P. Canettus' edition of Traversari's letters, *Ambrosii Traversarii ... Latinae Epistolae* (Florence 1759; repr. Bologna 1968), II, cols. 17-19, note 5. It was the most popular of Bruni's *volgare* compositions after the *Vita di Dante*; the present writer knows of seventy-nine manuscripts of the text in Italy alone.

known *Difesa contro i reprehensori del popolo di Firenze nella impresa di Lucca*. It is entitled *Lettera di Messer Lionardo d'Arezzo allo illustrissimo Conte Francesco Sforza*, and was written on 27 November 1439, seven days after Sforza's great victory, as captain of the Florentine-Venetian forces, over the Milanese general Niccolò Piccinino at Verona. Being a work of propaganda intended in part to encourage allies and frighten enemies, the letter is mostly devoted to emphasizing the completeness of the Milanese defeat, but Bruni spends a good many words celebrating Sforza's *gloria* and *virtù*<sup>67</sup>.

There might appear, then, to be a conflict between Bruni's theoretical enthusiasm for a citizen militia and his unrestrained admiration, expressed both privately and publicly, for individual *condottieri*. If one pursued this question in the modern anachronistic style, one might deliver oneself of grave essays on the theme "Leonardo Bruni: Advocate of Civic Militias or Professional Flatterer of Condottieri?" This, however, would be an unnecessary mystification. Admiration for *condottieri* and dislike of the mercenary system were sentiments that must have coexisted in the breasts of many contemporaries. And in any case it is not clear that Bruni *did* advocate a return to a civic militia of the thirteenth-century type. Bayley's reading of *De militia* is egregiously muddle-headed on this point. Bruni's treatise in fact has nothing to do with the old Florentine militia or the mercenary system. Rather, it represents an attempt to rescue contemporary communal knighthood from its medieval chivalric trappings and reinterpret it in light of classical values. Bruni saw the carpet knights of his age as corrupted by "Gothic" influences and hoped to restore their *bellica virtus* by invoking the precepts of the ancient philosophers and legislators and by holding up for imitation the old Roman *eques*. But there is no evidence

<sup>67</sup> The text survives in at least seven manuscripts, and has been printed once, in an edition so rare (only fifty copies were printed) that it escaped the bibliographical skills of both Hans Baron and Ludwig Bertalot: P. Fanfani, *Due lettere storiche dei secoli XV e XVI*, Spigolatura Fiorentina no. 1 (Florence: Tipografia all'insegna di S. Antonino 1868). Our text, entitled *Lettera di Messer Lionardo d'Arezzo allo illustrissimo Conte Francesco Sforza rallegrandosi in nome della Signoria di Firenze della riavuta di Verona, essendo capitano della Legha, fatta a di 27 di Novembre 1439*, is found on pages 9-14 (*inc.*: Non sappiamo, illustre signiore e magnanimo capitano, ne donde cominciamo — sempre etterne). Copies of the imprint may be found at the Vatican Library, the British Library, and the Biblioteca Comunale in Siena. The seven manuscripts of the text known to me are Florence, Bibl. Riccardiana 2272; Ricc. 2544, ff. 235v-237r; Ricc. 1074; Ricc. 1133; Rome, Angelica 2110 (Fanfani's manuscript); Florence, Bibl. Nazionale Naz. II.II.81 and Toledo, Archivo y Biblioteca Capitulares, cod. 9, 35. I am preparing a new edition of the text.

that he disapproved of *condottieri* in principle or hoped for a revival of the popular militia of the thirteenth century. Like most other members of the ruling class in the early fifteenth century, the thought of the common people in arms was one that filled him with deep misgivings<sup>68</sup>.

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The low ideological temperature of Bruni's attitudes to *condottieri* may be tested by considering his account of Braccio da Montone (born Andrea d'Oddo; also called Braccio Fortebraccio). Braccio was one of the great captains of the age, a rival of the turncoat Musio Attendolo Sforza, and hence a popular favorite in Florence. Pope John in 1414 had made him Count of Montone and the captain general of the papal forces. During the Council of Constance, Braccio took advantage of the temporary weakness of the papacy to carve out a principality for himself in the papal states, centered in Perugia. When the weak and impoverished Pope Martin V came to Florence in 1419-20 and set about recovering the papacy's lost territories, Braccio proved the chief obstacle to the success of his programme. A favorite way the Pope's local enemies had of baiting him was thus to set the children of Florence prancing through the streets chanting

Pope Martin isn't worth a dime,  
But Braccio beats 'em every time!<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> One passage of the *De militia* in particular (ed. Bayley, pp. 377-378) makes it clear that Bruni has in mind the communal *cavaliere* of his day and not the popular militia of the thirteenth century. Bruni says that knighthood (*militia*) either belongs by birth to noblemen or may be acquired by virtue; in the latter case knighthood *eo ipso* ennobles the recipient. Under the year 1351 in his *History of Florence* (ed. E. Santini and C. di Piero, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*, n.s., XIX, 4 fascicules [Città di Castello — Bologna 1914-1926], fasc. ii, p. 186), Bruni deplored the decay of military virtue among Florentines resulting from the exclusive dependence on mercenaries in the middle and late fourteenth century. But this does not entail that Bruni was opposed to any use of mercenaries at all; in fact, most Italian armies of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries had both mercenaries and citizen auxiliaries. It also does not mean that he liked the idea of a population in arms: see for example his account of the Ciompi revolt (ibid., fasc. iii, p. 224), where Bruni sums up, "This [the popular revolutions of 1378] can stand as a permanent lesson for the leading citizens of the city, that they should not allow political and military activity [*motus et arma*] to descend to the arbitrement of the multitude, for they cannot be contained once they have seized the reins and learned that, being more numerous, they have the greater power."

<sup>69</sup> Bruni, *Rerum suo tempore gestarum commentarius*, pp. 445-446n.: "Papa Martino non vale un quattrino; Braccio valente vince ogni gente."

Bruni in his memoirs recalled seeing Martin one day in the convent library of Santa Maria Novella, standing by a window overlooking the garden; the pope took his arm and said bitterly to him, "Pope Martin isn't worth a dime!" Bruni immediately realized the damage it would do to Florence to lose the favor of the pope on account of mere *puerorum nugae* and delivered on the spot an oration in praise of Florence's policy towards the pope. The speech (of course) saved the day; Martin was mollified and left Florence with a deep sense of his obligations towards the City of the Lilies.

Bruni's political loyalties were in this case, as they usually were, on the side of the Roman pontiff. This did not prevent him, however, from expressing, in the very next paragraph of his memoirs, his admiration for Braccio as a soldier and a man.

At length Martin left Florence and betook himself to Rome, where he reigned blessedly for a number of years, especially after the death of Braccio, when his power increased. Braccio himself was certainly a great man. He was considered a highly skilled general; he was magnanimous and wise in counsel; and he had about him a sense of honor shaded with civilized moderation. He was born of noble parents in Montone, a town in the Perugian territory, and had devoted himself to military exercises from his youth; at length, after many wounds and many efforts he acquired the experience and authority of a good general. ... [After conquering Perugia] he began to extend his strength in a very splendid way and shortly brought under subjection numerous cities, so that, when the Pope came to Florence, he possessed very many of them. He entered into an accord with Pope Martin whereby he should let some of his towns go, while retaining others as papal vicar, but he did not persevere for long in this agreement. ... A little later Braccio laid siege to the city of Aquila, and when Martin brought up his troops and those of his allies to relieve the siege, Braccio was unexpectedly overwhelmed and killed<sup>70</sup>.

We know nothing about the circumstances which led Bruni to compose Braccio's epitaph. Bruni must have met him when they were

<sup>70</sup> Ibid., pp. 446-447.

both in the service of John XXIII, and one may guess that a relation or follower of Braccio requested the verses of Bruni as an ornament to some memorial of the great general.

Domini Leonardi Aretini versus in laudem Bracii<sup>71</sup>

Transivi intrepidus per mille pericula victor:  
non acies ferri, non vastis moenia fossis  
conatus tenere meos; domat omnia virtus.

(“Fearless I passed, victor, through a thousand  
perils: neither ranks of iron nor walls with deep  
moats could contain my onslaught; virtue over-  
came all.”)

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<sup>71</sup> I give here the text of Burmannus (note 57, above).



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NOTAS SOBRE EL TEXTO DE LOS *CARMINA*  
DE E.S. PICCOLOMINI<sup>1</sup>

Tendríamos que decir con Rino Avesani<sup>2</sup> que la parte más conocida de la producción poética de Eneas Silvio Piccolomini, el que fue papa Pío II, es la colección de los *Carmina* publicados por Cugnoni<sup>3</sup>. Están compuestos por el *monobiblos* de la *Cinthia* (I-XIX), una *Egloga* (XX) y los *Epigrammata ad Bartholomeum Rouarellam* (XXI-XCII). Cierran el conjunto dos composiciones largas, *In Mahumethem perfidum Turchorum regem* (XCIII) y *Pro ingenii exercitatione* (XCIV), y una tercera corta, espúrea, *In S. Catharinam Senensem* (XCV)<sup>4</sup>. No incluye Cugnoni en su *Opera inedita* de Piccolomini el *Decastichon de laudatissima Maria*, que aparecía ya en la ed. de Basilea de 1551, p. 964<sup>5</sup>. Tampoco incluye el menos conocido poema en siete dísticos elegíacos *In laudem divi Aurelii Augustini*, que también había sido imprimido<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Deseo agradecer al Prof. J.Ijsewijn y con él también a G. Tournoy sus acertadas sugerencias a este trabajo, así como sus indicaciones bibliográficas.

<sup>2</sup> Rino Avesani, "Poesie latine edite e inedite di Enea Silvio Piccolomini", *Miscellanea Augusto Campana* (Padua 1981), vol. I, pp. 1-26.

<sup>3</sup> Giuseppe Cugnoni, *Aeneae Silvii Piccolomini qui postea fuit Pius II Pont. Max. opera inedita descripsit ex codicibus Chisianis vulgavit notisque illustravit Josephus Cugnoni*, Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei (Roma 1883 = repr. inglesa de Gregg 1968), 342-370.

<sup>4</sup> Sobre la inautenticidad de este poema véase G. Mazzoni, "Pío II poeta di S. Caterina", *Vita cristiana* 12(1940), pp. 200-204, y la documentada nota de Avesani *op. cit.* (cf. n. 2.), p. 2, n. 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Inc.* "Virgo Theutonicis". Sí aparece en cambio en las pp. 963-964 de la misma ed. el poema sáfico "Himno de la Pasión" *inc.* "Quid tibi tandem, scelerate, queris" (e.e. el *Hymnus de Passione* LXXXVIII ed. Cugnoni).

<sup>6</sup> Sobre la transmisión de este poema cf. A. Perosa, "Un codice del *Planctus Virginis* del Sannazaro (De Partu Virginis I 333-367)", en *Filologia e forma letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco della Corte*, Urbino, 1987, vol. V, pp. 473-90, esp. 475; por él sabemos que el poema se conserva en el cod. 3896 de la Bibliothèque Mazarine de París, f. 172<sup>v</sup>, iteratum ff. 175<sup>v</sup>-176<sup>r</sup>, en el ms. 435 de la Biblioteca Universitaria de Pavia, en el ms. 19 del fondo Landi de la Biblioteca Comunale de Piacenza, y está imprimido en los *Canones iuxta regulam* de Ps.-Agustín (Estrasburgo, 1490) y en las también pseudoagustinianas *Meditationes & c.*, Brescia, 1498.

Posteriormente el corpus se vio aumentado con dos nuevos poemas publicados por Arnaldi – Gualdo Rosa – Monti Sabia<sup>7</sup>, y luego por el propio Avesani que dio por primera vez a la luz siete epigramas<sup>8</sup>, hasta formar el conjunto de 105 poesías (incluyendo la composición espúrea, y 106 contando el *Decastichon* de la de la ed. de Basilea) que mejor conocido es hoy. Por el momento sigue perdida la *Nymphilexis*, obra de más de 2000 versos de la que tenemos noticia gracias a la mención del propio Piccolomini<sup>9</sup>.

Pero no es menos cierto que de ese conjunto de poemas lo más leído han sido la *Cinthia* (I-XIX, 23 poemas contando III bis, IX bis, XI bis, XV bis, cf. notas 7 y 8), y la *Egloga*<sup>10</sup> y prueba de ello es, por ejemplo, la minuciosa colación que hace Avesani de ellas<sup>11</sup>.

Por tanto poco es lo que vamos a añadir respecto al texto de estas dos primeras partes.

I. A enmienda tácita de Cugnoni se deben además de los dos pasajes que cita Avesani (XIX 49 y XX 81<sup>12</sup>), estos otros:

VII 15 Policletus *Cug.*: -cretus *cod.*; XVII 7 Dictamnus *Cug.*: Dictamnus *cod.*

Hay también algún descuido del autógrafo que no corrige Cugnoni:

XVII 5 langor *cod.*; *Cug.*: languor (cf. v. 10 languidus).

<sup>7</sup> *Poeti latini del Quattrocento*, a cura di Francesco Arnaldi, Lucia Gualdo Rosa, Liliana Monti Sabia (Milán-Nápoles 1964), vol. I, p. 144: LVIII bis *Gallus ad Cinthiam*, y LXVI bis *Puella in amatorem*. Los editores utilizan además del ms. Chigiano J VIII 287, los códices Vat. Lat. 1786 y Urb. Lat. 402.

<sup>8</sup> R. Avesani, *op. cit.* (cf. n. 2), pp. 21-26: 1) III bis *In Galatheam*, *cod.* Chig. H IV 135, ff. 84v-85r; 2) IX bis *In Lisiam*, *cod.* Chig. H IV 135 f. 89r.; 3) XI bis *In Corinum*, *cod.* Chig. H IV 135 ff. 89v-90r; 4) XV bis *In Cint(h)iam*, *cod.* Chig. H IV 135 ff. 92v-93r; 5) LXVI ter *De menstruo*, *codd.* Chig. J VIII 287 ff. 258v-259r, Urb. Lat. 402 ff. 244v-245r, Vat. Lat. 1786 f. 182r, Regin. Lat. 1461 ff. 90v-91r; 6) LXVIII bis *In Mennam*, *codd.* Chig. J VIII 287 f. 259v, Urb. Lat. 402 f. 245v, Vat. Lat. 1786 ff. 182v-183r, Regin. Lat. 1461 f. 92r; 7) XCVI <*In virginem Mariam*> (título y numeración de Avesani), *cod.* Chig. J VII 251 f. 259r.

<sup>9</sup> Aparece como *Nymphilexis* en la carta XXXV ed. Basilea. Campana, en su *Vita* de Piccolomini (ed. Basilea 1551) la cita como *Niraphilenticum*. Sobre su posible datación cf. Avesani, *op. cit.* (cf. n. 2), p. 7, n. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Sobre la égloga véase la edición y el estudio de Sesto Prete en “Pio II sul lago d’Orta”, *Novarien.* 4 (1970), pp. 15-31; reeditados con pocas variaciones y traducción inglesa en *Studies in Latin Poets of the Quattrocento* (Lawrence Univ. Kansas 1978), pp. 25-40; Ana Pérez Vega, *Una “Egloga” de Eneas Silvio Piccolomini, Papa Pío II (1405-1464)*. Memoria de Licenciatura Univ. Sevilla 1985.

<sup>11</sup> *op. cit.*, pp. 10-14 y 21-26. La colación es sobre la base de los códices Chigianos usados por Cugnoni.

<sup>12</sup> No es la XX 80, como cita Avesani.

Pero en cambio considero correcta la lectura del ms. en XX 86 (égloga), frente a su transcripción:

descendant *cod.*: descendunt *Cug.*

Es probablemente acertada la conjetura de Perosa-Sparrow

Sumne adeo informis? nullon sum dignus amore?

sumne ego progenie degener ipse mea?

(*Carm.* IV 21-22 progenie *Perosa-Sparrow*: pro gente *cod.*)

Pero parece necesaria otra modificación del texto de este mismo poema:

Quicquid formosas decuisset habere puellas,

unum si demo, Cinthia diues habet:

hoc unum est pietas, quam si modo, Cinthia, sumis,

usque adeo felix semper amator ero.

(*Carm.* IV 31-34)

En cada uno de los 18 dísticos de los que consta el poema, se dirige siempre a Cintia en segunda persona (20 verbos -contando imperativos de segunda-, 7 pronombres personales y 6 vocativos), con la sola excepción de los versos 21-22 reproducidos más arriba, donde es de todas formas ella la interpelada. Parece por lo tanto más lógico leer:

unum si demo, Cinthia, diues *habes*

con lo que el pentámetro no altera el estilo; al mismo tiempo aumentan en uno los verbos en segunda persona, y los vocativos.

Presenta también problema el texto de *Carm.* VI 11-14

Efficiam semper tibi sit, dum forte laboras

qui superet sonitu carmina dira suo.

Inde tua expediam prestanti numina uersu,

qualia nocte iuuent, qualia luce patent.

Los primeros versos de la elegía hacen a Cintia bienhechora del poeta, aquella que le salva de unos desconocidos peligros alegóricos. Por lo tanto, como muestra de agradecimiento, lo esperado sería:

Efficiam semper tibi *sim* dum forte laboras

qui *superem* sonitu<sup>13</sup> carmina dira *meo*.

<sup>13</sup> Debe ser error tipográfico de Arnaldi — Gualdo Rosa — Monti Sabia la lectura *sono* por *sonitu*, que va contra el metro. Otro de estos errores en I 9 *libellis* por *libelli*.

Inde tua expediam prestanti *lumina* uersu,  
qualia nocte iuuent, qualia luce patent.

Debe corregirse igualmente este otro pasaje XIV 9-10:

Falleris, ipsa tuo non stat sapientia sensu,  
non est iudicio pulchra Diana suo.

El poema está dirigido a Mentino, hombre de pocas luces, que asedia a Laurea. El texto debe entenderse, pues, como sigue: 'Te engañas: la sabiduría no está en tu capacidad, no es la bella Diana para tu juicio'. Por lo que hemos de leer *iudicio* ... *tuo*.

II. Pero contrariamente a lo que ocurría con el texto de la *Cinthia* y de la *Egloga*, el texto de los *Epigrammata* (*Carm.* XXI-XCII, 76 poemas en total<sup>14</sup>), presenta numerosos problemas. La simple confrontación del texto de Cugnoni con el manuscrito<sup>15</sup> revela un buen número de descuidos del editor, de los cuales la mayor parte parecen tipográficos. Va entre parentesis la lectura de Cugnoni:

XXI 8 Plaute (Plante); XXIII 7 periurus (periurius); ibid. v. 10 si licet (silicet); ibid. v. 11 eadem (eodem); XXVIII 5 putes *cod.* *AGRMS* (portes); XXIX 1 comparet (-re); ibid. v. 5 te (se); ibid. v. 6 tibi (sibi); XXX 18 nemore (memore); XXXI 1 insanis (in sanis *cod.*, *Cug.*, reproducción del descuido del autógrafo); XXXIV 17 uiuiscat *lego*: inuiscat *Cug.*; ibid. v. 22 Sardanapallus (Sardanapalus); ibid. v. 29 nullaque (nussaque); ibid. v. 35 iuueni (inueni); ibid. v. 52 creditit (credit); XXXVI *inscriptio* AD (IN); XLI 1 quid (quod); XLIII 5 auunculus (-las); XLIV 1 inuictus *cod.*, *AGRMS* (innictus); XLIV 11 Troius *cod.*, *AGRMS* (froins); ibid. v. 18 numeris *cod.*, *AGRMS* (muneris); ibid. v. 27 uirentem *cod.*, *AGRMS* (uiu-); ibid. v. 33 uiuax *cod.*, *AGRMS* (uinax); XLV *inscriptio* MONACVM (MONACHVM); ibid. v. 3 Melpemone — *id est* Melpomene — (Melpomene); XLVII *inscriptio* LVDIVICI (LVDOVICI); ibid. v. 2 Ludiuicus (Ludouicus); ibid. v. 3 uos (nos); XLVIII 3 quae (quo); LII 3 committit (commisit); LVI *inscriptio* IN (*om. Cug.*); ibid. v. 3 quid (quod); LIX 8 tua (sua); LXVI 1 dira (dira); LXVIII 10 ornatas

<sup>14</sup> Contando los dos recuperados por Arnaldi — Gualdo Rosa — Monti Sabia (LVIII bis y LXVI bis), y los dos recuperados por Avesani (LXVI ter, LXVIII bis); cf. notas 7 y 8.

<sup>15</sup> Chigi J VIII 287 fols. 246-267

*cod.*, *AGRMS* (ornata); LXXI 2 ista (ipsa); LXXIII 6 facit (faciat); LXXVII 5 contende *cod. e corr.* (contenne); LXXXIII 2 tamen (tam *contra metrum*); LXXXVII 2 quie (quique); *ibid.* v. 6 faciat (faciet); LXXXVIII 46 uoluit *cod. AGRMS* (noluit); *ibid.* v. 57 ad *cod.*, *AGRMS* (ed); *ibid.* v. 85 rabideque *cod.*: -aeque *AGRMS* (-desque); *ibid.* 115 quid *cod. AGRMS* (quod); LXXXIX 3 parta (parata *contra metrum*); XC 11 ero (eris); *ibid.* v. 12 erit (eris); XCII 3 rapiare (capiare); *ibid.* v. 9 Graecae ... Latiaequae (Graeciae ... lateque); *ibid.* v. 15 iam (in); *ibid.* v. 17 quenquam (queneque).

También parecen descuidos de la edición de Arnaldi – Gualdo Rosa – Monti Sabia las lecturas:

XXVIII 6 capta *cod.*, *Cug.*: uicta *AGRMS*; XLIV 42 missum *cod.*, *Cug.*: missus *AGRMS*; LXXXVIII 54 qui citat *cod.* : citat qui *AGRMS*<sup>16</sup>.

Siguiendo con los *Epigrammata* son tan numerosos los pasajes mal transmitidos que parece evidente que el ms. que utiliza Cugnoni es copia de uno preexistente, y que no fue corregido posteriormente. De nuevo a corrección tácita del editor se deben las siguientes enmiendas<sup>17</sup>:

XXV 1 munde *Cug.*: monde *cod.*; XXX 7 priscam *Cug.*: prisca *cod.*; XXX 25 pertusaque *Cug.*: perfusaque *cod.*; XXXI 1 gestare *Cug.*: gesture *cod.*; XXXVIII 11 iuuenesque *Cug.*: iuuesque *cod.*; XLIV 4 et *Cug.*, *AGRMS*: esto *cod.*; LIV 27 sume *Cug.*: summe *cod.*; LVIII 3 tessera *Cug.*: tesserea *cod.*; LVIII 12 turpis *Cug.*: turbis *cod.*; LX 15 percurrere *Cug.*: percurrere *cod. (contra metrum et linguam)*; LXV *inscriptio* DELIAM *Cug.*: DELIOM *cod.*; LXX 7 sume *Cug.*: summe *cod.*; LXXVII 4 discidium *Cug.*: discidum *cod.*; LXXX 6 patienda *Cug.*: partienda *cod.*; LXXXII 6 astabant *Cug.*: astant *cod. (contra metrum)*; LXXXIV 7 me armis *coni. tac. Cug.*: armis *cod. (contra metrum)*; LXXXV 21 monet *Cug.*: mouet *cod.*; LXXXVII 5 esca *Cug.* : esta *cod.*

En LXXXIII 16 debe leerse 'Sic aliquis titulus nobilitatis erit', como

<sup>16</sup> No mantienen la grafía del *cod.* Chigi J VIII 287 en VIII 8 ylarem *cod.*, *Cug.*: hilarem *AGRMS*; XLIV 37 horis *cod.*, *Cug.*: oris *AGRMS*; XLIV 40 Sicilides *cod.*, *Cug.*: Sicelides *AGRMS* (no tomo en consideración las grafías de *e* con cedilla).

<sup>17</sup> Se da el caso contrario, de error de Cugnoni, en la transmisión de algún otro pasaje: XLVI 4 Ludouicus erat *cod.*<sup>2</sup>: Ludouicus *cod.*<sup>1</sup>, *Cug.*, *contra metrum*.

aparece en el cod. Braidense milanés<sup>18</sup>, en vez de 'aliquid' con el Chigiano.

III. Edito a continuación cuatro nuevos textos atribuidos a Piccolomini en diversas misceláneas (véanse notas 20-23), y que por su tema y por los paralelos con otros poemas del autor, considero auténticos, a pesar de los riesgos que comporta dar por válidas las identificaciones de tales colecciones del Quattrocento y Cinquecento<sup>19</sup>. La puntuación y el uso de mayúsculas es el moderno, aunque respeto la grafía del ms. cuando es posible.

## APÉNDICE

### I

Pij pont. Max. ad Ludouicum Francorum regem<sup>20</sup>

Exerat in turcos tua me, Ludouice, furentes  
 dextera! Graiorum sanguinis ultor ero.  
 Corruet imperium Mahumetis et inclita rursus  
 Gallorum uirtus te petet astra duce.

I l heserat *Braid. AD xi 44, cf. Delz IMU 9(1966)432.*

<sup>18</sup> Braidensis AD XI 44, fol. 25r.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Avesani, *op. cit.* (cf. n. 2), p. 15 y n. 27. Una buena prueba de la merecida desconfianza en las atribuciones tenemos en el *responsum* del epigrama "Desine pro numeris numeros sperare poeta"; véase nota 22.

<sup>20</sup> Transmitido en los codd. Hagen, Catal.Bern.381; Rom. Vat. Lat. 1610, f. 110<sup>v</sup>; Paris. B.N., Lat. 8413, f. 24v; Braidensis AD XI 44 (Milán), f. 38v; citado también por el propio papa en sus *Commentarii* (Roma 1584), p. 338; ed. A. van Heck (Vaticano 1984), I, p. 450; cf. H. Walther *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis der Versanfängen mittellateinischer Dichtungen* (Göttingen 1959), núm. 6063. Compárese con el poema XLIV (Cug.) *Ad Carolum Regem Francorum*. Véase J.Delz, "Ein unbekannter Brief von Pomponius Laetus", *IMU 9* (1966), 417-440, esp. p. 432.

## II

Eiusdem in parentes<sup>21</sup>

Siluius hic iaceo, coniunx Victoria mecum est.  
Filius hoc clausit marmore Papa Pius.

## III

Pij pont. Max. In <Marium> Philelphum<sup>22</sup>

Desine pro numeris nummos sperare, poeta:  
carmina dedisti, carmina reddo tibi.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Walther núm. 18218; L. Bertalot *Initia Humanistica Latina* vol. I: *Poesie* (Tubinga 1985), núm. 5954; transmitido además de los lugares allí citados en el cod. Braidensis AD XI 44. Véase el poema XL (Cug.) *Siluii patris Aeneae epytaphium*.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Bertalot núm. 1136-1137. Transmitido también en el mismo cod. Braidense AD XI 44 y en el cod. J 25 de la Bibl. Com. Augusta de Perugia J 25, fol. 5<sup>v</sup>. Variantes de este mismo poema han sido publicadas anteriormente en varias ocasiones, véase J. Ijsewijn "Instr. crit." *Hum. Lov.* 27(1978), p. 297, l. He reproducido el texto de la primera mano del ms. Braidense, pero el texto está retocado por una mano posterior que, además de añadir al margen el nombre de Filelfo ("Marium", quizá Giammario Filelfo, 1426-1480, hijo de Francesco), corrige así el dístico:

Pro numeris nummos vobis sperare poeta:  
carmina misisti, carmina reddo tibi.

En el código de Perugia el dístico se atribuye también a Piccolomini ("Pius Pon<tifex>"):

Desine pro numeris nummos sperare poeta:  
mutare est animus carmina, non emere.

Sigue en ambos mss. la respuesta; en el primero atribuida a Filelfo por la mano posterior:

Responsum <Marii Philelphi>

Si tibi pro numeris numeros (sc. nummos) fortuna dedisset  
non esset capiti tanta corona tuo.

En el cod. de Perugia la respuesta aparece atribuida a Campano, en vez de a Filelfo; el hexámetro es idéntico (con "numeros" por "nummos"), y el pentámetro da la lectura "staret" por "esset".

Otras muestras de rivalidad y malas relaciones entre poetas en LVI (Cug.) *In maledicum poetam*; LXIX (Cug.) *In Gallum*; LXXIX (Cug.) *In poetam occultantem uersus*.

## IV

Eneas Senensis Car. S. Sabinae  
in laudem Ni<colai> p<apae> Quin. condidit<sup>23</sup>

Hic sita sunt Quinti Nicolai antistitis ossa,  
aurea qui dederat secula, Roma, tibi.  
Consilio illustris, uirtute illustrior omni,  
excoluit doctos doctior ille uiros.  
Abstulit errorem quo schesma (*sic*) infecerat orbem, 5  
restituit muros, menia, templa, domos.  
Tum Bernardino statuit sua sacra Senensi,  
sancta iubilei tempora dum celebrat.  
Cinxit honore caput Federici et coniugis auro,  
res Italas icto federe composuit<sup>24</sup>. 10  
Attica Romana complura uolumina lingua  
prodidit: en tumulo fundite thura sacro!

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<sup>23</sup> Cf. Bertalot núm. 2277; transmitido también en el cod. Lat. 134 = Alpha. R. 9.5. fol. 10v de la Bib. Estense de Módena. Cf. LVII (Cug.) *Epytaphium Martini pape quinti*.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Liv. 3.25.5.



Terence O. TUNBERG

FURTHER REMARKS ON THE LANGUAGE  
OF LORENZO VALLA'S *GESTA FERDINANDI*  
AND ON *DE RECIPROCATIONE 'SUI' ET 'SUUS'*

In attempt to provide a first step towards an appreciation of Lorenzo Valla as a Latin writer, I have recently completed a study of the style and syntax of the *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*, Valla's contribution to the genre of humanistic Latin historiography, a work which he completed in 1445<sup>1</sup>. Continuing the same effort, I am currently finishing a similar analysis of Valla's letters. I am also in the initial stages of a study of Valla's prose rhythm, based on samples taken from a variety of Vallan texts<sup>2</sup>. This new work has led me to realize that my earlier study of Valla's *Gesta* would benefit from some additions, corrections, and clarifications. In the following brief discussion, I shall provide some of these supplementary observations.

<sup>1</sup> See T.O. Tunberg, "The Latinity of Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum*", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1988), 30-78.

<sup>2</sup> My article on Valla's *Gesta* contains a brief discussion of prose rhythm in that work (see Tunberg, *ibid.*, pp. 57-61). Application of the statistical method of internal comparison indicates that Valla has a preference for certain metrical *clausulae* at the ends of sentences. Although the *Gesta* is a historical text, Valla does not favor the distinctive rhythms preferred by his most obvious models for historical style, Sallust and Livy: instead he prefers a group of cadences similar to those favored by Cicero. The statistical tests suggest very strongly that Valla dislikes the hexameter ending or *clausula heroa*. But Valla's preferences seem to be less decisive than his aversions. Like the monographs of Sallust, the *Gesta* is not a highly rhythmical text. It is true that Valla's most favored ending (the cretic and trochee) amounts to 15% of all the *clausulae* in the sample from the *Gesta*, while the most favored rhythm in Sallust makes up only 10.9% of the total in his works. Nevertheless, the sum of Valla's most favored *clausulae* amounts to just under 50% of the total number sampled, which is very close to the corresponding percentage in Sallust (see H. Aili, *The Prose Rhythm of Sallust and Livy*, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 24 [Stockholm, 1979], p. 97). Therefore, just as in the case of Sallust, without statistical methods it would hardly be apparent to the casual reader that Valla actually prefers certain endings (See Tunberg, *ibid.*, p. 58, note 115). For this reason, Valla's use of *clausulae* requires further study, and it is hoped that an analysis of several works by Valla will shed more light on the question.

In the *Gesta*, we note *carruca* (1.9.6) with the medieval meaning "pulley". The context of the passage makes this meaning of *carruca* quite clear, and such a meaning for the word is documented in medieval Latin<sup>3</sup>. However, it should also be noted that even in medieval Latin this meaning of *carruca* is not typical: the common medieval meaning for the word is "plough"<sup>4</sup>.

Also in the *Gesta*, the reader encounters the following unusual subjunctive instead of an accusative and infinitive, or possibly a *quod/quia* clause: "In quo illud precipue admirabantur ... tam modico exiguoque contentus foret" (2.10.6)<sup>5</sup>. In fact, this subjunctive should probably only be termed "unusual" in the context of classical Latin. Such a use of the simple subjunctive instead of an accusative and infinitive seems to be quite common in early Renaissance authors: it has been observed in such writers as Boccaccio, Petrarch and Charles de Bovelles<sup>6</sup>.

We find that *licet* is used as a concessive conjunction in the *Gesta* with either the indicative or subjunctive, a habit which accords with Valla's recommendations in the *Elegantiae*<sup>7</sup>. *Licet* employed as a concessive conjunction with the indicative is characteristic of late Latin<sup>8</sup>. For the sake of comparison, I have also cited passages in the *Gesta* where *licet* is used with the subjunctive. Additional comments can be made about two of these instances. In each case (1.11.11; 2.3.14), *licet* is joined with the imperfect subjunctive. In classical Latin, however, with a few exceptions in *Ad Herennium* and the *Bellum Hispaniense*, *licet* as a conjunction is generally employed with the present or

<sup>3</sup> Tunberg, *ibid.*, p. 42, note 45.

<sup>4</sup> See T. J. Rivers, "The meaning of *carruca* in the *Leges Barbarorum*", *Traditio* 40 (1984), 297-300.

<sup>5</sup> Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 1), p. 43, note 51.

<sup>6</sup> For some good examples, see S. Rizzo, "Il latino del Petrarca nelle Familiari", in *The Uses of Greek and Latin. Historical Essays*, edd. A. C. Dionisotti, A. Grafton, J. Kraye, Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts 16 (London, 1988), pp. 50-1, and by the same author, "Il latino nell'Umanesimo", in *Letteratura italiana. V. Le questioni*, ed. A. Asor Rosa (Torino, 1986), p. 392. See also J. Chomarat, "La langue de Bovelles", in *Études de Linguistique générale et de Linguistique Latine offertes en Hommage à Guy Serbat*, Bibliothèque de l'Information grammaticale (Paris, 1987), p. 140. As Rizzo correctly points out, this construction can be found in some authors of late Antiquity.

<sup>7</sup> See *Elegantiae* 2.21, p. 58. For the *Elegantiae*, I have used the Basel edition of 1540 by H. Petrus, reprinted in L. Valla, *Opera omnia*, ed. E. Garin, vol. I (Torino, 1962). I refer to the work by book, chapter and page respectively.

<sup>8</sup> Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 1), p. 45, note 60.

perfect subjunctive. In fact, Valla's use of *licet* as a conjunction does not accord at all with the norms of narrative style in the best ancient historical authors. *Licet* as a conjunction is rare in general in the Roman historians, except in the *Bellum Hispaniense* and in Curtius<sup>9</sup>.

I have briefly considered the use of reflexives in the *Gesta* with reference to Valla's precepts concerning the reflexive pronoun and the reflexive possessive adjective as set forth in *De reciprocatione 'sui' et 'suus'*, a treatise which Valla completed in 1450<sup>10</sup>. The theory which Valla advances in *De reciprocatione* deserves a somewhat fuller explanation than it received in my study of the *Gesta*. Such an explanation will give us a better understanding of a passage in the *Gesta* where the reflexive seems to be used in an anomalous manner.

In *De reciprocatione*, Valla attempts to improve on Priscian's discussion of the reflexives, and also to formulate some guidelines for his contemporaries, who often misused these words, especially *suus*<sup>11</sup>. According to Valla, *sui* and *suus* are reciprocal, i.e., they refer back to the entity from which they depart<sup>12</sup>. Therefore, the use of the reflexive in such phrases as "legisti librum suum", where there is no reciprocal relationship, is faulty.

If the substantive associated with a possessive has reference to the subject, *suus* should be employed, for example: "tuetur nos Deus propter suam clementiam". But if it refers to the object or complement (Valla uses the term *appositum*), *eius*, *ipsius*, or *illius* should be used, for example: "amamus Deum propter bonitatem eius". With this precept, Valla formulates one of the basic rules for Latin reflexives still found in modern grammars. But he is careful to acknowledge that one can find

<sup>9</sup> See M. Leumann, J.B. Hofmann, A. Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik. Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft*, 2.2.2 (München, 1965), p. 605. In my article on the *Gesta* (see Tunberg, *ibid.*), I have cited two other examples of *licet* with the subjunctive which should not have been included in the same category as the rest, since *licet* in neither case is really concessive: see 1. 8.6 (and for this passage note the revisions in punctuation suggested on p. 73 of my article) and 2.2.3.

<sup>10</sup> Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 1), pp. 48-51. The version of the work generally available today is a reprint of a sixteenth-century edition in *Opera omnia* (note 6), vol. I, pp. 236-49. All of my citations of *De reciprocatione* refer to the chapter and page numbers of this edition.

<sup>11</sup> For an analysis of Valla's critique of Priscian and a perceptive evaluation of Valla's innovations in *De reciprocatione*, see now J. Chomarat, "Le 'De reciprocatione sui et suus' de Lorenzo Valla", in *L'héritage des grammairiens latins de l'antiquité aux lumières*, Actes du colloque de Chantilly 2-4 septembre 1987, ed. Irène Rosier (Paris 1988), pp. 283-92.

<sup>12</sup> See *De reciprocatione* 3, p. 238, "haec pronomina, alterum primum, alterum derivativum, ad id unde prodierant, revocantur".

passages in classical Latin which go against this principle (he cites Cicero, *De republica* 6.9).

Valla adds other precepts. One should use *suus* to refer to the *appositum* if a verb or adjective is added to the *appositum* making reciprocation possible, for example: "video columbam tristem in periculo pullorum suorum", or: "scio illum dolere fortunam suam"<sup>13</sup>. *Suus* in the nominative may refer to a possessor in an oblique case in such phrases as "videt Ciceronem filius suus", and *suus* in an oblique case can do the same, e.g., "piget Ciceronis suum filium"<sup>14</sup>.

It will be worth while to keep in mind two observations about these precepts. Firstly, in *De reciprocatione*, Valla follows his usual method of basing his recommendations not on the abstract principles of grammarians such as Priscian or Donatus, but on the *consuetudo* or actual practice of the ancient writers themselves. However, Valla is primarily concerned with what is *generally* the case in ancient texts, and admits that examples to the contrary may be found<sup>15</sup>. Thus Valla's principles for the use of reflexive pronouns do not represent the full complexity of ancient usage, but a simplified version of ancient usage. Secondly, Valla's precepts regarding the reflexives concern independent propositions with a single finite verb. When it comes to more complex structures with two or more finite verbs, Valla is much less specific.

In the first part of chapter eight of *De reciprocatione*, Valla assembles a series of passages from ancient texts to show that in propositions involving two (or more) finite verbs, it can be a matter of indifference whether the third person demonstrative or the reflexive is used. To our eyes not all of these examples demonstrate this indifference. Indeed, on the basis of the first pair of passages cited by Valla, Jacques Chomarat argues that Valla formed no concept of the indirect reflexive<sup>16</sup>. Never-

<sup>13</sup> Valla points out that the mere addition of a copulative conjunction, such as *et*, to the object will not effect such reciprocation: hence one should say "necavi lupam et catulos eius" rather than "catulos suos".

<sup>14</sup> For these precepts, see especially *De reciprocatione* 4, p. 238; 8, p. 242; 14, p. 247.

<sup>15</sup> For a discussion of Valla's enunciation of this principle in Book One of the *Elegantiae*, see Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 1), pp. 32-3.

<sup>16</sup> See *De reciprocatione* 8, p. 240, and Chomarat, "Le 'De reciprocatione'" (note 10), pp. 288-9. The first two passages quoted by Valla are both from Cicero: "Multi dubitabant quid optimum esset, multi quid sibi expediret" (*Pro Marc.*, 10.30), and: "Legatus in pace profectus in provincia pacatissima ita se gessit ut ei pacem esse expediret" (*Pro Lig.*, 2.4). In spite of the same verb *expediret*, these sentences are completely different in structure, a fact which Valla ignores. In the first example the reflexive is used in the indirect question as expressing the thought of the subject of the

theless, in spite of the fact that some of Valla's examples may be erroneous, Valla's general contention is not wrong: the use of the third person pronoun can be indifferent in propositions involving two (or more) finite verbs. Ancient authors can indeed employ third person pronouns in subordinate clauses in a highly erratic fashion, and *De reciprocatione* shows that Valla was quite aware of how ambiguous and inconsistent 'classical' usage can be in such cases<sup>17</sup>. Some of the examples which Valla cites in chapter eight of *De reciprocatione* to show indifference in the use of the third person pronoun (with two or more finite verbs) are still cited in modern works as instances where the use of the pronoun is difficult to explain<sup>18</sup>. In short, regarding propositions involving two or more finite verbs, Valla sets forth no really specific precepts, other than the need to avoid ambiguity<sup>19</sup>.

Keeping in mind this fuller account of the theory pertaining to the use of the reflexives set forth in *De reciprocatione*, let us again consider the following passage from the *Gesta*.

"Ea de re fecialem ... Barcelonam mittit ... qui universam urbem perequitans passim, ut quosque honostissimos (sic) haberet obvios percontaretur, nunquid Ioannem Raimundum Cardone comitem nosset. Respondentibusque se nosse, oraret ... renuntiarent *homini*, se vocari ... ad singulare certamen" (3.3.7).

In my previous study, I observed that "nothing which Valla says in *De reciprocatione* would seem to justify the use of *se* here rather than

main verb. In the second example the demonstrative is used in the consecutive clause, which merely expresses the result of the action independently of the thought of the subject of *gessit*.

<sup>17</sup> For some well-known examples from Cicero and Caesar involving final clauses, see Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 1), p. 49, note 75.

<sup>18</sup> See, for instance, Cicero, *De Officiis* I 30.108: "... factum Solonis, qui, quo et tutior eius vita esset et plus aliquanto rei publicae prodesset, furere se simulavit". See also *Pro Lig.*, 12.36: "... nihil egit aliud ... nisi ut tui *eum* studiosum iudicares" (the old edition of *De reciprocatione* has *tu* instead of *tui*). It is worth noting that A.C. Clark actually emended *eum* to *se* in his Oxford edition of *Pro Ligario*, although *eum* appeared in all the witnesses he used. Compare Valla's remarks in *De reciprocatione* 8, p. 241 with R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* 2.1 (Hannover 1976), p. 610 (Anmerk. 5). See also J. Lebreton, *Études sur la langue et la grammaire de Cicéron* (Paris, 1901), pp. 129-31.

<sup>19</sup> See *De reciprocatione* 10, p. 244: "ego quidem devitare cupio amphiboliam". In the same chapter, Valla suggests that ambiguity can sometimes be avoided by using the demonstrative instead of the reflexive. For a possible example of this from the *Gesta*, see Tunberg, "The Latinity" (note 1), p. 50, note 81.

*eum*”<sup>20</sup>. One can now add that we find nothing in *De reciprocatione* to justify this because Valla avoids making definite rules about the use of *sui* and *suus* in propositions with two (or more) finite verbs — unlike his procedure in the case of propositions with a single verb<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>20</sup> Tunberg, “The Latinity” (note 1), p. 50.

<sup>21</sup> One of the footnotes concerning reflexives in the article on the *Gesta* could benefit from a revision of a different kind. See Tunberg, “The Latinity” (note 1), p. 49, note 77: “In the *Gesta* we ... observe several passages where *suus* in an ablative absolute (about which Valla says nothing in *De reciprocatione*) refers not to the ablative subject, but to the subject of the main clause ...” This remark is misleading, and should be modified to say that ‘Valla provides no clear guidance on this question’. In fact, at the end of *De reciprocatione* (15 and 16, pp. 247-8), we do find specific mention of the primitive *sui* in an ablative absolute referring to the subject of the main clause. Here we read that either *se* or *eum* in the ablative absolute may have reference to the main subject (though in some cases *se* may be preferable).

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THE *LUCUBRATIUNCULAE TIBURTINAE*  
OF ROBERT FLEMMING (1477)

Robert Flemming's<sup>1</sup> *Lucubrationum Tiburtinarum* was first published at Rome in 1477. The work is a hexameter poem in two books celebrating the life and achievements to that date of pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484)<sup>2</sup>. Among the latter are notably his inauguration of the Vatican Library. Hence the poem has received a fair amount of attention<sup>3</sup>, although it is not easily accessible. Only six copies of the

N.B. Secondary works are first cited in full and usually thereafter by author's name only.

<sup>1</sup> R. Weiss, *Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century*. Medium Aevum Monographs 4 (Oxford 1967<sup>3</sup>) (hereafter Weiss), p. 102 n. 2 cites J. Pits (Ioannes Pitseus), *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis Tomus Primus* (Paris 1619), p. 659, where various works are assigned to Flemming, beginning with: "*Lucubrationum Tiburtinarum Libros duos*". But Pits was by his own admission dependent on Leland for his notice about Flemming (pp. 659 f.), which contains nothing not derived from Leland except an inaccurate deduction about the date of Flemming's death. Hence R. Weiss, "New Light on Humanism in England during the Fifteenth Century", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 14 (1951), 21-33, esp. pp. 31-3 (*q.v.*) is correct in asserting (p. 32) that "it is only thanks to John Leland <i.e. his *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxford 1709), pp. 460 f., 486> that we know that they <i.e. the two books of the *Lucubrationum*> were Flemmyng's work". How Leland discovered this is not recorded. It looks as though the Flemming MS he used referred, like the incunable, only to a "*protonotarius Anglie*"; but the MS may have contained notes revealing the author's identity and other facts about him, (cf. below, nn. 5, 13).

<sup>2</sup> On Sixtus, cf. E. Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters*. Temi e Testi 26 (Rome 1978).

<sup>3</sup> In addition to Weiss, *loc. cit.*, cf. W.F. Schirmer, *Der englische Frühhumanismus. Ein Beitrag zur englischen Literaturgeschichte des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Tübingen 1963<sup>2</sup>), esp. pp. 139-41; W. Mann, *Lateinische Dichtung in England vom Ausgang des Frühhumanismus bis zum Regierungsantritt Elisabeths. Untersuchung zur nationalen und religiösen Grundlegung des englischen Humanismus* (Halle (Saale) 1939), pp. 1-7 (Mann's extracts from Flemming are marred by mistranscriptions (or printer's errors), which make Flemming's metrics and Latinity look worse than they really are); J. Ruysschaert, "La fondation de la Bibliothèque Vaticane en 1475 et les témoignages contemporains", in *Studi offerti à Roberto Ridolfi Direttore de "La Bibliofilia"*, edd. B.M. Biagiarelli and D.E. Rhodes. *Biblioteca di Bibliografia italiana* 71 (Florence 1973), pp. 413-20, 416 f.; and J. IJsewijn, "Robert Flemming and Bartolomeo Platina. Or the Need of Critical Editions", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34A (1985), pp. 76-82 (*q.v.*). I have not been able to see the paper by A. Campana (1948) cited by IJsewijn p. 76 n. 2.

1477 incunable survive<sup>4</sup>; there exists also a later (1482/3) Vienna manuscript<sup>5</sup>. The text of this manuscript was published in 1923 under an obscure imprint by V. Pacifici<sup>6</sup>, who, although he corrected the mistake later<sup>7</sup>, then thought it an anonymous work.

The *Lucubrationculae Tiburtinae* is a curious mix<sup>8</sup> of the highly wrought, aspiring to classical poetic diction and literary allusiveness, and of the rough, matter-of-fact. It has fluency, and some of its metrical and lexical harshnesses can be paralleled in the foreign, and therefore more cultivated, Latin poets employed later in England by Henry VII<sup>9</sup> — although its faults are more frequent than would have been acceptable later. All in all Flemming is the first native English neo-Latin poet to deserve the title<sup>10</sup>: an assiduous student of the classics and book-collector<sup>11</sup>, he spent most of his life in academic and/or humanist surroundings — Oxford (1430-1443 and 1462-1472), Cologne, Padua, and then Ferrara under Guarino da Verona (1443-1451), Rome at the papal court (1458-1461, 1473-1478)<sup>12</sup> — and so had ample, indeed

<sup>4</sup> R. Flemming, *Lucubrationculae Tiburtinae* (Rome 1477), cf. *Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke* VIII (1978), No. 9990.

<sup>5</sup> ÖNB 2403; on its dating, cf. IJsewijn pp. 77 f. The existence in his own time of another MS (*exemplar manu scriptum*) of the work owned by John Redman (which was certainly neither V nor a copy of it, since it contained 1,648a, from the passage about Platina) is assured by Leland p. 486, who used it; this manuscript apparently contained an anthology of Anglo-Latin poetry, cf. Weiss (1951) pp. 31-3.

<sup>6</sup> V. Pacifici, *Un carne biografico di Sisto IV del 1477* (Tivoli, Società Tiburtina di Storia e d'Arte, N.D. but 1923). Pacifici speculated (intr. pp. vii-xii) that the author might be Angelo Mancini Lupi (1422-1485), bishop of Tivoli from 1471 to his death. For convenience I have followed IJsewijn in citing Flemming in the line numbering of Pacifici, but have added the book number.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. IJsewijn p. 77 n. 4.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the judgement of Weiss pp. 102f.

<sup>9</sup> The importation into England by Henry VII of the poets Bernard André, Giovanni Gigli (who had other functions too) and Ioannes Opicius, and his reemployment of the Yorkist import Pietro Carmeliano, imply a lack of native Englishmen able to write Latin verse of continental humanist standard.

<sup>10</sup> My brief survey of the question: "The Metrical and Stylistic Competence of Latin Poetry by Englishmen in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century", forthcoming in *Atti del XXIX Convegno di Studi Umanistici, Montepulciano 1987*, reached the conclusion that Weiss' rather optimistic view of the Anglo-Latin literature of the second half of the fifteenth century could not be sustained, and that the more realistic assessment (and explanation) of the cultural level in England in that period by D. Hay, "England and the Humanities in the Fifteenth Century" in *Itinerarium Italicum. Studies in Medieval and Reformation Thought* 14, edd. H.A. Oberman with T.A. Brady (Leiden 1975), pp. 305-67 should be followed.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Weiss pp. 103f., and R. Weiss, "The Earliest Catalogues of the Library of Lincoln College", *BQR* 8 (1935-7), pp. 343-59.

<sup>12</sup> The fullest account of Flemming's life and activities is given by Weiss pp. 97-105 (cf. also his Index of Names s.v. Flemmyng, Robert).



unique, opportunities among contemporary Englishmen to acquire humanist competence. His homecoming in 1478 to a prebendry in Lincoln cathedral may mean that his poem failed to secure for him further hoped-for patronage from Sixtus, although the probable circumstances in which the Vienna manuscript came into existence would suggest that the work was not uncongenial to the pope<sup>13</sup>. Flemming's death in 1483 precluded his employment as a poet at the restored Tudor court, where (despite his praise of the Yorkist Edward IV in *Lucubrationum Tiburtinae* 1,515-527) he would doubtless have been welcome, in part because of his former service to Henry VI<sup>14</sup>.

The main aim of this paper is to clarify the relationship between the 1477 incunable of the *Lucubrationum Tiburtinae* and the Vienna manuscript. IJsewijn not only collated the incunable and the manuscript, but also established firmly the date of the manuscript (77f.). This he did by comparing the length given in the manuscript (1,731 f.) for the pontificate of Sixtus IV, i.e. *annis / bis sex* (1482-3), with that given by the incunable, i.e. *annis / bis tribus* (= 1477). The manuscript's version dates it, he perceived, to 1482 or early 1483, so that it was written five or six years after the incunable. On this basis IJsewijn raised a fascinating question about their relationship. After some remarks on the most significant divergence between the two texts — the account of the Vatican librarian — IJsewijn asked (p.78): "where was the new text written, and by whom? If by Flemming, did he write it at Lincoln... or did he return to Rome for a last time in 1482. If by some other person in Rome, was it in order to eliminate the name of Platina?" (the first Vatican librarian). He ended with "As I said, I cannot solve these problems".

Before the details of these problems are broached it may be worthwhile to clarify their overall context. First of all, there can be no question of Flemming having personally written out the Vienna manuscript. Several securely identified Flemming autograph manuscripts are known, and sample pages from some have been reproduced in modern

<sup>13</sup> Weiss (1951) pp. 32f. quotes a manuscript passage of Leland (cf. above nn. 1 and 5), which was crossed out by Leland and therefore not printed in the *editio princeps* of Leland in 1709. This passage reports, presumably on the basis of a note which Leland found in the (now lost) MS of Flemming's work which was then owned by John Redman (cf. above n. 5), that Flemming was created *Comes Sacri Palatii* by Sixtus IV. But the creation is dated to before the composition of the *Lucubrationum*, so that it does not help us to assess Sixtus' reactions to the poem.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Weiss pp. 98-100.

works<sup>15</sup>. Flemming employed a number of diverse hands, but there is no resemblance between any of them and the hand of the Vienna manuscript. Second, the Vienna manuscript was quite certainly copied from the incunable. That is assured by the combination of a) the later date of the Vienna manuscript (1482/3), established by IJsewijn (see above), and b) the fact that the Vienna manuscript reproduces (with a minor variation: *cuiusdam protonotarij* for *protonotarii Anglie*) the printer's colophon of the incunable, including the colophon's earlier dating of the work to 1477<sup>16</sup>. Manuscripts copied from printed books are a common phenomenon in the renaissance and later<sup>17</sup>. Such manuscripts may include the printer's colophon<sup>18</sup>.

Given then that the Vienna manuscript scribe was not Flemming, and that the scribe was copying the incunable, the problems amount to a single question: was it Flemming or someone else who supervised the copying of the Vienna manuscript, gave the scribe instructions about alterations, additions and excisions, and perhaps acted as *corrector* — for there was such a *corrector* (see below)? I submit that the answer is "someone else", and that this can be established through analysis of the divergences between the incunable and the manuscript based on IJsewijn's collation, which for all the passages cited below I have confirmed through examination of reproductions of both.

<sup>15</sup> E.g. R. W. Hunt and A. C. de la Mare, *Duke Humphrey and English Humanism in the Fifteenth Century. Catalogue of an Exhibition held in the Bodleian Library Oxford* (Oxford 1970), Nos. 60 = Pl. XII, 61 = Pl. XIV, cf. 67 = Pl. XIII(b); *Manuscripts at Oxford: An Exhibition in memory of Richard William Hunt (1908-1979) etc.* edd. A. C. de la Mare and B. C. Barker-Benfield (Oxford 1980), No. XXII.6 = Fig. 65, cf. also XXII.5.

<sup>16</sup> The colophon reads in the Vienna manuscript: *Lucubraciuncularum tiburtinarum cuiusdam protonotarij de sanctissimo ac beatissimo in christo patre ac domino nostro Sixto quarto divina providentia summo maximoque pontifice liber secundus qui apologeticus est explicet. exactus quidem completusque Romae ipsis nonis decembribus Anno gratiae M<sup>o</sup>CCCC<sup>o</sup>LXXVII<sup>o</sup>. Pontificatus vero ipsius sanctissimi domini nostri anno septimo;*

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. M. Reeve, "Manuscripts Copied from Printed Books" in *Manuscripts in the Fifty Years after the Invention of Printing. Some Papers Read at a Colloquium at the Warburg Institute on 12-13 March 1982* ed. J. B. Trapp (London 1983), pp. 12-20. I am grateful to Dr. V. O'Mara for further information on the extent of this practice and for bibliographical help.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. A. G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries* (Oxford 1984) I, Nos. 680 and 860; A. Derolez, "The copying of printed books for humanistic bibliophiles in the fifteenth century", in *From Script to Book: A Symposium* edd. H. Bekker-Nielsen, M. Borch, B. A. Sørensen (Odense 1986), pp. 140-60, 146-52. Medieval manuscripts also frequently end with a "colophon" copied (date included) from an earlier manuscript: cf. J. Destrez and G. Fink-Errera, "Des manuscrits apparement datés", *Scriptorium* 12 (1958), pp. 56-93.

First of all, it must be admitted that in many places the readings of the manuscript are manifestly superior to those of the incunable. This could give rise to a suspicion that in the manuscript Flemming was able to correct the mistakes of his printer. However every single such reading of the manuscript is on closer inspection no more than a correction within the competence of any moderate Latinist: in some cases I myself made the same correction independently. An example will demonstrate: at *Lucubrationum Tiburtinae* 1,2 the incunable offers *Proliner*. But anyone acquainted with Flemming's source, the first line of the *prologus* to Persius' *Satires*, would immediately restore *Proluier*, which is also the reading of the Vienna manuscript; indeed Schirmer notes that this correction has been made in ink in the B.L. copy of the incunable<sup>19</sup>. I offer a sample of such corrections, using IJsewijn's *sigla*, i.e. R = the incunable, V = the manuscript):

1,2	Proliner R Proluier V
1,17	aliqueando R aliquando V
1,123	Votum itera R Votum iterat V
1,138	E stupulo R E scopulo V
1,296	Mite peciis R Mite pecus V
1,327	Aut cadinus Thebas R Aut Cadmus Thebas V
1,351	De Saracenos R Se Sarracenos V
1,469	recusa R recusat V

Needless to say, such corrections do not point to a connection between Flemming and the manuscript. Equally however they are not evidence against such a connection, since, if Flemming had been supervising, he would obviously have corrected the inadequacies of the incunable.

A second, small category of divergences between incunable and manuscript consists of additions in the manuscript: there are two lines (1,727 and 2,999) in the manuscript not present in the incunable. They are (cited in context):

1) The topic is Sixtus' improvements to Rome, including his creation of good streets and broad squares:

<sup>19</sup> P. 139 n. 174.

Quo facto haud solum caeca iam nocte facultas  
 Praebita quae pridem fuit, iis magna insidiandi  
 1,727 \*Et spoliandi homines nonnunquamque interimendi,  
 Furibus eripitur simul et latronibus: imo  
 Ipsi etiam Romae facies modo pulchra, decorque  
 Additur. ...

2) Here Sixtus' escape from Rome and the plague is defensively turned into his saving of Rome from the plague:

Omne etenim Sixto grates agerentur in aevum:  
 Ipse quod a leto servarit ab urbe profectus  
 Millia et imminui Romae tumida ulcera pestis  
 Fecerit, ac dirum citius cessare venenum  
 2,999 \*Tanquam extinxisset subtracto fomite flammam.

Neither line is vital in its context; equally there is no reason why, if the lines had stood in the manuscript from which the incunable printer worked, he should have omitted them. Their addition is therefore just an attempt to gild the lily.

Third, the manuscript contains some passages altered not so as to correct mistakes but so as to change the sense. The most striking of these is the reduction and generalisation of the eulogy of the first Vatican librarian, Bartolomeo Platina. The two versions are:

.... merito ergo Bartholomeus	1,648
Platyna, magna sue lux et decus ille Cremone,	648a
Sacchorum veteri ac generoso sanguine natus,	
Munificaque manu nature ornatus et artis,	
Preficitur tante "sub Sixto" <b>bibliotheca</b> .	(649)
Namque hic apprime lingue est utriusque peritus.	
Carmineque et prosa tam praestat, prorsus ut alter	
Doctiloquus nostri Ciceroque Maroque sit aevi,	
Seu Plato et Euripides. mihi <i>felix</i> ergo videtur	

Et locus, et custos. locus, eius tradita tanto

Quod sit cura viro; CUSTOS, quod perstudiosus

Auctorum, veteres agnoscere possit amicos

Atque dies noctesque illic versarier inter (650)

Sane dulcifluas omni mage melle Camoenas. R (651)

648a magne R; correxit Campana

.... *felix* cui bibliothecae 1,648

Traditur “a Sixto” cura et CUSTODIA talis,

cuique dies noctesque licet versarier illic 650

Inter dulcifluas omni mage melle Camoenas. V

What in the incunable is a warm, lengthy and laudatory personal tribute of fourteen lines to Platina, becomes in the manuscript a much briefer four-line account of an unnamed Vatican librarian, who is presumably either Platina’s successor or a generalised figure (on the possible reasons for this alteration see below). There must be a strong presumption that the shorter version is not Flemming’s composition. The most telling point is that nothing new is added, while what remains is no more than a cento, a tesseration of identical or slightly doctored material taken from the incunable. (I have coded the correspondences in the quotations above to make lengthy discussion of this point unnecessary). Either caution or a lack of interest seems to have been a strong motivation on the part of the “someone else”. If the former, he may have wanted to be able to assert that every single word he had included was present in identical or virtually identical form in his original. If the latter, then his brevity here may be contrasted with the two extra lines he added elsewhere (see above). If anyone were still to assert that Flemming himself could have been asked to produce an updated manuscript version removing Platina, and that the caution or lack of interest shown in the manuscript was his, I would respond on the basis of a parallel alteration. Flemming himself is also removed from the record *in toto* in the manuscript. The incunable at least records the work as being that of a “*protonotarii Anglici*” (titulus) and a “*protonotarii Anglie*” (colophon). The manuscript however speaks

only of its being the work of “*cuiusdam protonotarii(j)*” (titulus and colophon). Flemming would hardly have wished to reduce the modest credit given him in the incunable.

A number of other alterations from the incunable in the manuscript are not straightforward corrections: e.g. at 1,616 R’s *ingensque ac subiet* is replaced in V with *ingensque et subiet*. This is a common and non-significant substitution; but in a few other places the motive (as with the Platina passage) does seem to be alteration of the sense: at 1,665 the incunable’s *praestanti pectore, papa* (of pope Innocent III) is replaced in the manuscript (in a rasura) with *pater amplo pectore, papa*. Was *praestanti* felt to disparage Sixtus by comparison? The alteration at 2,1095f. from:

.... qui magna negocia claustrī  
 Quique magistratus gereret sacro ordine primos R

to:

.... qui magna negotia tractet  
 Quique magistratus illo gerat ordine sacro V

in the account of Sixtus’ cardinal nephew Bartolomeo della Rovere, bishop of Massa Marittima and of Ferrara<sup>20</sup>, appears to be directed towards diminishing the importance of the cloister in the early life of this erstwhile friar, perhaps in view of his current episcopal offices (see also below). Again, at 1,728 the manuscript has (also in a rasura) *simul et* as against the incunable’s *soevisque*, although this is perhaps more likely to be a stylistic change than a genuine change in the sense. When such an alteration in sense occurs in a rasura, a change of mind on the part of the manuscript scribe or of the *corrector* is likely. This again speaks strongly against the idea that Flemming was responsible for the manuscript since he would have got it right first time<sup>21</sup>.

Another equally interesting, and even more diagnostic, group of passages are those where the incunable and the manuscript share the same error. At 1,121 both have *habitu* where the correct reading, as Pacifici saw, must be *habitum*. That might be dismissed as a slip

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Pacifici *ad* 2,1084.

<sup>21</sup> But it has to be said that at other places where there is a rasura (1,109: 1,429f.) the text is identical with that of the incunable.

repeated by the same person (i.e. Flemming), but the next example is decisive. At 1,671 both incunable and manuscript offer *Hospique tale tuum*, where, as IJsewijn conclusively shows (pp. 80f.), the correct reading must be *Hospique tale tium*, i.e. with *que tale* inserted (in conformity with a late medieval view of elegant Latinity) into the word *hospitium*. It is most unlikely that Flemming, the very author of this rhetorical “ornament”, would not have corrected the incunable’s failure to reproduce an “elegance” which he himself had conceived — doubtless with considerable self-satisfaction. On the other hand it is very easy to believe that a scribe unfamiliar with this particular figure and not being supervised by the author copied out the printer’s error of the incunable. A third case, 2,1172, is equally decisive. Both the manuscript and the incunable have the meaningless *intuisse*, which IJsewijn corrects to *nituisse* (p. 82). How could one possibly imagine Flemming himself not objecting to this meaningless word?

The last category of variants is (in part) equally decisive. It consists of passages where the manuscript offers a reading inferior to the incunable. The reasons for these errors are varied: a slip of the eye was responsible at 2,1016, where the incorrect *docens* (in place of the incunable’s *decens*) obviously owes its existence to the presence of *docent* in the succeeding line. Failure to grasp the run of the sentence is responsible for *ego vel* appearing in V at 1,458, where R correctly has *ego sed*. A lapse of attention to the sense was the cause of V ineptly copying *sortibus* as *fortibus* at 2,1626. Such uncorrected misunderstandings or lapses by the scribe indicate well that he was not supervised by Flemming. Two further such passages give a clue about the scribe (or his supervisor). At 2,829, where the incunable has *Thybridis*, the manuscript reads *Tyberis*; and at 2,856, where the incunable has *Fluminis*, the manuscript has *Tyberis*. As IJsewijn notes (p. 81), *Tyberis* is unmetrical in both places. What has clearly happened is that the scribe or supervisor was thinking of Italian “Tevere”, and forgot (or did not know) that the first syllable of Latin *Tiberis* is short, which is why Flemming avoided it. This suggests that the scribe was an Italian. He may have gained the misplaced confidence to “emend” here from his earlier experience with an Italian river name at 1,788, where he had corrected the incunable’s *amene* to *Aniene*.

On all these textual grounds then it is clear that the manuscript of 1482/3 was not written under Flemming’s control. There is now no copy of the incunable in the Vatican Library. This could mean that the

copy presumably presented to Sixtus by Flemming or by the printer in 1477 had been lost or stolen by the early 1480s, and that the manuscript was intended as a replacement, and indeed for presentation to Sixtus. Alternatively it may have been created so that Sixtus could donate it to someone else he wished to impress<sup>22</sup>. From the hand, as well as from *Tyberis*, an Italian provenance must be concluded<sup>23</sup>.

It seems then that there is no need to agonise at length over the text of Flemming. The incunable, printer's errors apart, stands as a faithful witness to what Flemming wrote. It, together with IJsewijn's collation of the variants in V, is all we need as a basis for a modern text of the *Lucubrationculae Tiburtinae*.

Two further topics deserve some discussion:

- (i) a sheet from the original binding of V containing the initial lines of the *Lucubrationculae Tiburtinae* in a different hand, and
- (ii) the major divergence between R and V, i.e. their accounts of the Vatican librarian.

(i) H.J. Hermann, *Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illuminierten Handschriften in Österreich* VIII,VI,3 (Leipzig 1932), No. 131 (pp. 166f.) first gives an account of V and its 1753 binding. It then proceeds:

“Auf der Rectoseite des ersten vom alten Einband abgelösten Pergamentblattes sowie auf f.2: Autographen Besitzervermerk: “*Joannis Sambuci*”.

Auf der Rectoseite des zweiten Pergament-Vorsatzblattes von der Hand des Sambucus: “*quanto la coperta*”; darunter eine Signatur: “60-2-10”, wohl ebenfalls von der Hand des Sambucus.”

before going on to describe the beginning of the work as it appears in V.

Now in the reproduction of V, preceding the beginning of the work, there is a page with, at the top right hand corner (I), at the bottom to left of centre “Jo: Sambuci” (i.e. not “Joannis”), and at the bottom to

<sup>22</sup> Such possibilities have been proposed: IJsewijn p. 77 thinks that Sixtus' coat of arms may once have stood on “f.1” of V, and so of him having been the dedicatee; Weiss 102 n. 3 speaks of V as a “presentation copy”.

<sup>23</sup> Italian provenance was already indicated by Hermann (*loc. cit.*), Weiss p. 102 n. 3 and IJsewijn p. 77.



right of centre in a larger hand “CLXIV” (the old catalogue number of the MS was Philol. 164, cf. Hermann p.167 l.4). Presumably this is Hermann’s “Rectoseite des ersten vom alten Einband abgelösten Pergamentblattes”; but Hermann does not mention that the bulk of this page is occupied by a (now) semi-illegible attempt in a gothic hand to copy out the first page of the Flemming incunable, seemingly minus the titulus. Like the first page of the incunable, (I)<sup>r</sup> contains *Lucubratunculæ Tiburtinae* 1,1-18, whereas the first page of V contains one line less (1-17). A space has been left at the top left corner of (I)<sup>r</sup> for the illuminated capital F, although there is no trace of it. Verses 1-3 and part of verse 4 are written in six lines to the right of this space, as verses 1-3 are so written in the incunable, and as verses 1-4 are written in eight lines under the end of the titulus (*Liber primus incipit*) to the right of the illuminated F in V. But unlike the printer of the incunable and the scribe of V, the (I)<sup>r</sup> scribe has not respected the verse endings, but has run the verses on, so that only at line 5 do lines and verses begin to coincide. At 1,18 the (I)<sup>r</sup> scribe omits the *E* of *Editus* (which has not been supplied by the illuminator in the British Library copy of the incunable) and writes only indented *ditus*; in V the illuminator has added this capital.

Only actual inspection of the Vienna manuscript would reveal the whole story, but for the moment I must assume that the camera has picked up writing not visible to the eye<sup>24</sup>. A reconstruction of (I)<sup>r</sup>’s history would be: its scribe (perhaps an older person not well-versed in humanist writings) takes a one-page “writing-test” before being commissioned to copy the entire incunable. He fails the test because he instantly reveals metrical incompetence when he treats the first few lines as prose. (I)<sup>r</sup> is then used in the original binding of V (from which it will emerge damaged and partly, or to the eye wholly, illegible when V is rebound in 1753). The scribe of V is then employed for the task. He writes the end of the titulus (*Liber primus incipit*) and verses 1-4 to the right of the large illuminated capital F, which would have been supplied later by an illuminator. He respects the integrity of the hexameters, moving to a new line at the end of each. Some of this may be fantasy. But one should note that the (I)<sup>r</sup> scribe had the incunable, not V, before

<sup>24</sup> A reverse effect may have occurred on Hermann’s “Rectoseite des zweiten Pergament-Vorsatzblattes”, where *quanto la coperta* is clearly visible in the reproduction, but 60-2-10 cannot be seen.

him. If we lacked other certainty that the V scribe also had the incunabula before him, (I)<sup>r</sup> would provide it.

(ii) Some uncertainty must however inevitably continue to surround the purpose (or purposes) of the major alteration which V makes in R's treatment of the Vatican librarian. Its effect is of course to remove Platina from the record; and that may have been its purpose. Personally Platina was an awkward character<sup>25</sup>, and a *damnatio memoriae* might have been intended. But equally Platina was dead by 1482/3, and V may simply have wished to update, especially since Flemming used present tenses of Platina<sup>26</sup>. The non-malicious removal of all residual trace of Flemming from V supports this approach<sup>27</sup>. An additional result, and perhaps purpose, of V's alteration is that Sixtus' role in connection with the Vatican library is enhanced. This supports IJsewijn's suggestion (77) that the manuscript was written for papal consumption.

Might there be more to be said? Platina's first name, Bartolomeo, appears in Flemming's text of 1477 (1,648). If the primary motive for V's alteration of 1482/3 was updating, one possibly relevant fact is that Platina's successor as librarian was another Bartolomeo — Bartolomeo Manfredi da Meldola. Even leaving aside the present tenses used in the tribute to Platina, other parts of the tribute would not have fitted his successor, and the homonymity might have caused confusion. A last and highly tenuous line of enquiry may emerge from one of the other two changes in sense between R and V discussed above<sup>28</sup>: 2,1095 f., part of the eulogy of the second Bartolomeo named in the work (2,1084), Sixtus' cardinal nephew Bartolomeo della Rovere. Could this alteration be a pointer to the man who commissioned the writing of V, perhaps for presentation to his papal uncle, who made the changes in V, and who perhaps also acted as the *corrector* whose less developed humanistic hand was noted by Pacifici at 1,481; 2,1662; 2,1682; 2,1702? On this supposition the bishop would have been unable to resist the temptation to improve on Flemming's account of him. Moreover when

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Lee pp. 110-119 and Index of Names s.v. Platina, Bartolomeo.

<sup>26</sup> IJsewijn p. 78 also doubts whether the disappearance of Platina was due to malice against him.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. above on the implausibility of Flemming having removed all trace of himself. Equally there was no reason why Flemming or his nationality should have been unpopular at Rome in 1482/3.

<sup>28</sup> The other is 1,665, on pope Innocent III's *pectus*; there is of course a third such passage (1,731 f.) where the date is altered.

it came to the need to update what Flemming had said about the Vatican librarian, would the bishop have been unhappy that the updating left him the only Bartolomeo in the work?

Such a long shot would hardly deserve a place even in a footnote but for one further odd coincidence. As noted the incunable is a very rare work with only six known copies. But *G.W.* 9990 records among them one in the Biblioteca Comunale of Ferrara: and Bartolemeo della Rovere was bishop of Ferrara from 1474/5 on<sup>29</sup>.

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<sup>29</sup> I shall attempt to inspect this copy (if it is still there) when I next pass through Ferrara.

Gerdien C. KUIPER

AN ERASMIAN ADAGE AS 'FORTUNE'S FOOL'  
MARTIAL'S "OLEUM IN AURICULA FERRE"\*

*Erasmus and the modern commentators on Martial*

Reading in Martial's *Epigrammata*, we may be surprised to find Erasmus' name in a footnote to a rather obscure distich. In the Budé edition, in an annotation to Mart. V, 77, the great humanist is said to be the one who, in his *Adagia*, identified from this epigram the words *Oleum in auricula ferre* (To have oil in the ear) as being a proverbial expression<sup>1</sup>. The Loeb edition, too, mentions Erasmus' *Adagia*. From both commentaries one cannot but conclude that according to the modern editors of Martial, the Marullus in question is portrayed by the poet as a certain type of flatterer. However, they fail to explain where exactly the wittiness comes in.

A closer look reveals that these two lines have inspired a fair number of Martial scholars to put pen to paper. From Calderinus in 1474 onwards up to the latest reprint of the previously mentioned Loeb edition in 1979, we find a sequence of repeatedly different attempts at elucidation. And in this sequence, ever since the 16th century edition of Martial by Hadrianus Junius, Erasmus features conspicuously. For, although his name is not always mentioned, Erasmus' *Adagia* regularly recur in the commentaries on these lines as the authoritative source for a particular interpretation of the epigram. To what extent Erasmus is really the origin of this interpretation remains to be seen. In any event, the fact that the *Adagia* are still mentioned shows their undiminished importance to the classical philologist. But before calling on Erasmus himself, I shall first quote the text of Martial's distich in its present form, and briefly consider some modern commentators.

Mart. V, 77:

\* For his unremitting help and expert advice I wish to thank Dr. P. Tuynman, Director of the recently closed Amsterdam Institute of Neo-Latin.

<sup>1</sup> Adag. 463, LB II, 207C-F.

Narratur belle quidam dixisse, Marulle,  
qui te ferre oleum dixit in auricula.

In the Budé edition, H.J. Izaak attributes to Marullus the obsequious ear of an adulator, 'une oreille complaisante'. And in his annotation in the Loeb edition, W.C.A. Ker expands on this, specifying that Marullus, when listening to 'great men' as if they were oracles, adopts a posture in which he holds his ear as if there were oil in it, which must not run out. Although both scholars refer to Erasmus' *Adagia*, they appear to owe their interpretations to an explanation given by O. Crusius. Apparently Ker has also made use of Lindsay, who, in 1903, had emphasized that Marullus, in tilting his head, shows a servile attitude<sup>2</sup>.

On the other hand, it has been suggested in the latest Teubner edition — with the help of some guesswork as to the puzzling word '(*Ad Marullum*) *pedarisiā*' in the caption over the epigram in one of the better manuscripts — that Marullus was haughty and arrogant, a 'homo superbus' who was strutting about, holding his head high. Just a head held awry (or grown awry?), is put forward as a possibility in the authoritative Martial edition by L. Friedländer (1886, repr. 1967), who, for that matter, does not rule out yet another meaning of a perhaps proverbial *Oleum in auricula*, but he does not hazard any guesses.

### *Crusius 1889*

Crusius' interpretation requires closer consideration. In his article 'Ad poetas Latinos exegetica', published in 1889, he paid a good deal of attention to the Marullus epigram. After some short comments about recently made suggestions as to its meaning, he turns to none other than Erasmus. At length he cites from Erasmus' adage *Oleum in auricula ferre*, and then mentions another adage: *Oleum ore ferre*, 'To have oil in the mouth' (said of flatterers). This adage was discussed, without acknowledging a source, by Gilbertus Cognatus (i.e. Cousin, at one time secretary to Erasmus) and had been included in the 1574 Basel *Adagia* edition consulted by Crusius. As is well-known, many editions of the *Adagia* appeared in the 16th and 17th centuries with additions by Hadrianus Junius, Brassicanus, Cognatus, Petrus Godofredus *et alii*.

<sup>2</sup> Crusius in: *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, hrsg. von O. Ribbeck u. F. Buecheler, Neue Folge, Bnd. 44 (Frankfurt a. M. 1889), p. 457-8. W.M. Lindsay, *The Ancient Editions of Martial, with collations of the Berlin & Edinburgh Mss.* (Oxford 1903), p. 49.

Subsequently I shall revert to the adage of Cognatus, whose implicit explanation of Martial's witticism differs widely from Erasmus' interpretation.

Crusius then cites, approvingly, the words of Cognatus, who interprets '*oleum*' as 'flattery', quoting in evidence two passages from the Book of Psalms. However, Cognatus' understanding of 'To have oil in the ear' as 'to open one's ears to flattery', finds no favour in the eyes of Crusius. He himself states: if indeed 'To have oil in the *mouth*' was said of a *smooth-tongued* flatterer, then there must be oil in the ear of the man who shows himself to be a true adulator by *listening with obsequious attention*. And Crusius recognizes the same type of adulator in Theophrastus' *Characteres* II, namely the one who cautions everybody to be silent as soon as the man he is trying to curry favour with is about to speak.

From this brief outline of the Martial interpretations one may find today, it will be apparent that classical scholars are still in disagreement about Marullus. He is either seen as haughty, or, conversely, as a downright sycophant. These are, as we shall see in what follows, the two possibilities Erasmus had already indicated four centuries earlier.

#### *The 1500 and 1508 versions of the adage*

For an examination of Erasmus' adage *Oleum in auricula ferre*, the LB-edition is now the most obvious source, because it contains the *Adagia* as they were published in Erasmus' last revised — and once again enlarged — edition from the year of his death, 1536. But in search of the version of the text a 16th century reader had at his disposal, we are faced with the problem that there was not only a continuous output of editions but also that throughout his life Erasmus had been adding to his *Adagia*. We shall even have to bear in mind that in addition to the *Chiliades Adagiorum*, which was first printed by Aldus Manutius in Venice in 1508, Erasmus' earlier *Collectanea Adagiorum* was still available too. After its second edition in 1506-7 (containing 838 adages, twenty more than the first one that was published in Paris in 1500), this collection was reprinted at least twenty-five times during Erasmus' lifetime<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See the 'Bibliotheca Erasmi' in the *Bibliotheca Belgica, Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas*, E56 (ed. 1506-7) — E81, i.e. p. 274 sqq. in vol. II of the BB reprint (Bruxelles 1963-'70).

Fortunately, in the case of the adage *Oleum in auricula ferre*, the situation is not that complicated. It is true that it already occurs, be it in a different form, in the *Collectanea*, yet in the first extensive publication of the *Adagia* in 1508 (containing 3260 adages) it has already been given the number (463) and the form that it was to keep in the later editions. Thus, in the 16th century two versions of one and the same adage existed side by side. Two textual versions which on comparison have quite a few surprises in store. In the original, and in my translation, they read as follows:

ADAGIORUM COLLECTANEA 1500 (fol. h 1<sup>r</sup>):

*Oleum aure vel ore ferre.*

Si Domitio credere libet, qui loqui non quissent, eos olim proverbio *Oleum ore gestare* dicebant. Eoque Martialis in quendam fastidiosa aure, quod neminem audire vellet:

Narratur belle quidam dixisse Marulle  
Qui te ferre oleum dixit in auriculam.

*To have oil in the ear or mouth.*

If we are to believe Domitius (*sc.* Calderinus), in antiquity there used to be a proverb for people who could not speak (*sc.* freely): they were said 'To have oil in the mouth', Hence Martial's epigram on a certain person with a reluctant ear, because he was unwilling to lend an ear to anybody:

It's said a certain person has expressed it well, Marullus,  
The one who said: you put the oil into your *ear*.

ADAGIORUM CHILIADES 1508 (Chil. I. Cent. V. LXIII = Adag. 463):

*Oleum in auricula ferre.*

*Oleum in auricula ferre.* Est apud Martialem. Quo loco mihi non satisfacit interpres Domitius Chalderinus, vir alioqui probe doctus. Nam poeta taxare videtur hominem rigida supinaque aure, id quod etiam Graeci notant: ἄν οὐς ἔχων, ἀντὶ τῶν ἄνω τὸ οὐς ἔχων i.e. sublimem et supinam aurem habens. Carmen Martialis est huiusmodi:

Narratur quidam belle dixisse Marulle,  
Qui te ferre oleum dixit in auricula.

Porro ut in *Problematicis* scripsit Aristoteles, aures aqua infusa offenduntur, oleo non item. Quin si forte aqua in aurem inciderit, oleo infuso medemur, dum lubrica facta aure, aqua defluat (LB: defluit). Proinde et urinatores oleum auribus instillare consueverunt, quominus aqua laedantur. Hinc itaque videtur natum adagium, nempe a gestu eorum, quibus est aliquid liquoris infusum, quod ne effluat, aurem supinant, quasi aversantes ac fastidientes audire.

Neque tamen negaverim posse referri ad assentatores, qui velut oleum in aurem instillant, dum jucunda loquuntur magis quam salutaria. Cui diver-

sum est illud Persianum: Auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero. Huc igitur pertinebit et illud Evangelicum, de venditoribus olei. Verum cui placet hic sensus posterior, *in auriculam*, accusandi casu legat oportet.

Quod quoniam et proverbii speciem prae se gerit, et vulgo jactatum Martialis indicat, non existimavi praetereundum.

*To have oil in the ear.*

To have oil in the ear, Martial (*sc.* V, 77). The accompanying explanation of Domitius Calderinus, an otherwise very learned man, does not satisfy me.

It is as follows. The poet seems to criticize a man with an ear that stands stiffly erect and is turned backwards (*sc.* averted from the speaker) (*rigida supinaque aure*), for which the Greeks, too, have an expression as shown by the distinction they make between ἄν οὐς ἔχων (having one's ear high up, *sc.* having one's ears pricked up) and ἄνω τὸ οὐς ἔχων (having the ear high up, above oneself), the latter meaning: having one ear high up in the air and at the same time turned backwards (*sublimem et supinam aurem*), Martial's poem runs as follows:

It's said a certain person has expressed it well, Marullus,

The one who said: your ear is full of oil!

Well then, as Aristotle has written in his *Problemata*, ears are irritated if water gets into them, but this is not so in the case of oil. On the contrary, if accidentally water has got into an ear, we will remedy this by pouring oil into it until the ear has become greasy and the water runs out. This is why also divers used to drip oil into their ears to prevent them from being impaired by the water. So it is in this that the adage seems to have its origin, namely in the posture of those who, having some liquid poured into their ears and wishing to prevent it from running out, turn this ear backwards, so that it looks as if they disdain to listen.

Nevertheless, I would not rule out the possibility that the adage applies to flatterers who, while saying things which are pleasing rather than salutary, drip, as it were, oil into somebody else's ear. The opposite of this can be found in that well-known line from Persius: 'to chafe tender ears with the harsh truth'. Now, if indeed the adage applies to flatterers, then it belongs to the same category as that familiar passage from the Gospel about the sellers of oil. But then, anyone assuming the latter meaning of the adage to be correct is bound to read '*in auriculam*', in the accusative.\*

With regard to Martial's afore-cited phrasing, I hold that it could not have been omitted here (*sc.* in my collection of adages), because it clearly shows the formal appearance of an adagial expression and because the poet himself indicates that it was in common use.

\* The line containing '*in auriculam*' should now be rendered into:

The one who said: you're putting oil into somebody's ear.

### *Three important differences between the two versions*

What first of all catches the eye on comparing the adage from the



*Collectanea* of 1500 with the one from the extensive 1508 edition of the *Adagia*, is that the adage proper has been altered. In 1500 it was composed of the saying which Erasmus incorporated on the authority of Calderinus and the variant from Martial (*aure*), with Martial's '*ferre*' in preference to Calderinus' '*gestare*': *Oleum aure vel ore ferre*. In 1508, however, Erasmus rejects Calderinus' '*proverbium*' and derives his adage only from Martial, whose words he now reproduces verbatim: *Oleum in auricula ferre*.

Another striking difference between the two versions is that in 1508 Erasmus' comment is not only much more extensive, but significantly different from his comment in 1500 as well. Of course, this is mainly related to the fact that in 1508 Erasmus explicitly states that he disagrees with Calderinus. Yet, in this second version Erasmus adheres to Calderinus' conclusion about Marullus as someone who does not listen. The adage applies to someone with an *auris fastidiosa* (a disdainful ear), although in 1508 Erasmus prefers to call this, in connection with his new hypothesis about the origin of the adage, an *auris supina* (a backwards turned ear) — borrowing, though he does not mention this, Martial's own words in epigram VI, 42, 22. It is, however, not only this hypothesis which is new, compared with Erasmus' explanation in 1500. His application of the expression to *assentatores* (flatterers), which is now mentioned as an alternative, though a less attractive option, is new as well.

A third difference, of great importance, although consisting in only one letter, is to be detected in the text from Martial. Erasmus quotes the Marullus epigram in both versions of his adage. In 1500 it ends with '*in auriculam*', in 1508 with '*in auricula*'. A deliberate and cardinal discrepancy, as becomes clear from the fact that Erasmus associates with it two dissimilar and mutually exclusive ways of applying the adage. In the case of '*in auriculam*', in the accusative, the adage can be applied to *assentatores* who drip oil (a metaphor for flattery) into an ear; in the case of '*in auricula*', in the ablative, it can be used to refer to those who have an *auris supina*. It is remarkable, however, that in 1500 Erasmus could still combine this *auris supina* (then: *auris fastidiosa*) with '*in auriculam*'. What then happened between 1500 and 1508? Did Erasmus get hold of another version of Martial's text, or, perhaps, of a commentary different from the one by Calderinus? For that matter, what exactly did Erasmus read in Domitius Calderinus' commentary?

We shall have a closer look at the two adages, or rather, at the two

versions of Erasmus' adage, and try to answer these questions. But first some remarks concerning both versions: about Calderinus, about the editions Erasmus may have consulted of Calderinus' commentary as well as of Martial's own text, and about Martial as a source for proverbs in the *Adagia*.

*Editions of Calderinus and Martial; Martial as a source*

In his time, the Italian Domitius (Domenico) Calderini was reputed to be the great authority on Martial — a reputation, though, that he had to share with Georgius Merula. And, of course, the gentlemen disagreed on many points. Calderinus, born not far from Verona in 1446, lived — with some short intervals elsewhere — in Rome from about 1467 onwards. Here, he was struck down by the plague in 1478. Apart from his annotations on Martial, his writings included commentaries on Juvenal, Ovid, and Virgil. His *Commentarii in Martialem*, the fruit of a series of lectures at the University of Rome, was published for the first time in 1474. Afterwards it was reprinted many times and from 1480 onwards in combination with Martial's text. In 1491 also Merula's commentary was added.

As for the poems of Martial himself it is not quite clear which edition is to be considered the *princeps*. What is certain is that the rather sloppy Ferrara edition is the first one that states a date of publication: 1471. Martial was, at any rate, not unknown to 16th-century readers, witness the twenty-three editions that were brought out already before 1500. A respectable number, though not to be compared with the enormous popularity of Virgil for instance, whose works were printed no less than 185 times in the same period.

When we ask ourselves which Martial edition Erasmus may have used in 1500 for his *Collectanea* and in 1508 for his new, extended *Adagia*, it becomes clear that, when consulting Martial, he positively must have set eyes on Calderinus' commentary too. For the twelve Martial editions which appeared between 1480 and 1498 all contain this commentary and five of them include Merula's commentary as well. And if indeed Erasmus did consult the very latest Martial edition for his new *Adagia*, it must have been the one that was published in Milan in 1505: another text adorned with both Calderinus' and Merula's annotations. Merula by the way, who, like Calderinus, is occasionally mentioned in the *Adagia*, makes no comment at all on the Marullus distich.

In Erasmus' *Adagia*, Martial is referred to as a source on several occasions. There are twenty-five references in the *Collectanea* of 1500 (Appelt 1942, p. 118), four of them also mentioning Calderinus' name. With this score Martial comes in-between Persius and Juvenal, but far below Plautus who is the number one favourite with 124 entries. In the last *Adagia* edition revised by Erasmus himself, the one from 1536 containing 4151 adages, the total number of references to Martial has risen to 92 (Mann Phillips 1964, p. 399)<sup>4</sup>.

Unlike the later, ever-increasing *Adagia* editions, the *Collectanea* often reveals how Erasmus — reading his classics with his quill poised — jots down adages from the book he is engaged on. In this way whole clusters of adages taken from a single author came into being. There is also a small series of adages derived from Martial: starting with Appelt's n° 653 up to n° 667, thirteen adages follow each other almost consecutively in the *Collectanea*, including the familiar *Oleum aure vel ore ferre* (n° 660) in which Calderinus is mentioned. His name also appears two adages earlier, namely in *Fumos vendere*, from Martial IV, 5, 7 (n° 658, which became, largely extended, Adag. 241, LB II, 128D-130A). 'To sell smoke', Erasmus writes, means to curry favour by using profuse flattery, and after some further explanatory remarks he ends by drawing a parallel: *consimile evangelicum Oleum vendere*, 'something similar is indicated by 'To sell oil' in the Gospel'. It is this same 'selling of oil' that Erasmus will insert in his completely revised *Oleum in auricula ferre* eight years later. We shall briefly return to the flattering oil-sellers before long, but first back to Calderinus' commentary. Erasmus supported it in 1500, but dismissed it in 1508. What exactly did that commentary say?

*Calderinus' commentary on Martial V, 77*

Calderinus' text reads:

Proverbium erat apud antiquos, ut is qui loqui non posset diceretur *Oleum ore gestare*; eodem quidam usus est in Marullum volentem neminem audire, sed inverso, ut dixerit Marullum non gestare oleum ore, sed auribus, quia nunquam vellet alios audire sed semper loqui.

The Ancients had a proverb: he who could not speak (*sc.* freely)

<sup>4</sup> Th. C. Appelt, *Studies in the Contents and Sources of Erasmus' Adagia* (Chicago 1942); M. Mann Phillips, *The 'Adages' of Erasmus* (Cambridge 1964).

was said 'To have oil in the mouth'. The same thing was said by a certain person about Marullus who was unwilling to lend an ear to anybody, but he gave it a twist, however, so that he said that Marullus did not have oil in his *mouth*, but in his *ears*, as he never wanted to listen to other people, but always wanted to be speaking himself.

If one compares Calderinus' commentary with the 1500 version of Erasmus' text, it will be noticed that their views on Marullus do differ in spite of the resemblance. On Calderinus' authority Erasmus assumes, albeit somewhat hesitantly (*si credere libet*), that there was, in olden times, a certain proverb on which Martial had made a variation. He still follows Calderinus when the latter proceeds from '*not being able* (to speak)' to '*not wanting* (to listen)'. But where Calderinus stretches the point by seeing Marullus as someone 'who always wants to be speaking himself', Erasmus stays much closer to 'not wanting to listen to anybody'. In his view, Marullus merely displays an arrogant unwillingness to listen: he is someone with an *auris fastidiosa*. And in 1508 Erasmus holds on to this final conclusion, even though he then resolutely and entirely rejects Calderinus' underlying argumentation.

*'Oleum ore' in the adages of Godofredus and Cognatus*

At this point I would like to give a short account of the vicissitudes of the expression 'To have oil in the *mouth*' once it had been brought forward by Calderinus. Although in 1508 Erasmus himself discarded *Oleum ore ferre* and changed the adage to *Oleum in auricula ferre*, this was not the end of it. *Oleum (in) ore ferre* (or: *gestare*) turns up again in the extensive 16th and 17th century compilations of *adagia*, in which many other collections have been added to the one by Erasmus. In these editions, the first of which appeared in 1570, the saying 'Oil in the mouth' occurs even twice, taken from the adages collected by Godofredus and by Cognatus. Still, the two are slightly different in form and are accompanied by explanatory notes which differ considerably from each other.

First there is the French jurist Pierre Godefroy from Carcassonne who, in his *Proverbiorum liber* of 1555, had inserted *Oleum in ore gestare* as it had been put (though without '*in*') and, more important, as it semantically had been described by Calderinus, i.e. as applicable to someone who cannot speak. Or rather, as Godofredus adds, to someone who cannot speak without restraint, because his tongue has

been tied by certain obligations<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore he refers to the (originally Greek) expression *Bos in lingua*, which is also found in Erasmus' *Adagia* (Adag. 618, LB II, 268C-269B). However, this species of 'oil' as a metaphor for a kind of hush money did not play any further part in the history of 'Oil in the ear', so that I will not pursue this point. The second occurrence of the adage 'Oil in the mouth' in the post-*Erasmian* compilations, this time taken from the collection by Gilbertus Cognatus, is of more immediate importance to our case, especially because his source undoubtedly was Erasmus' very own wording, not only in 1500 but also in 1508. The reader may judge for himself.

Cognatus' adage, which was briefly mentioned at the beginning of this article in connection with Crusius' interpretation of Martial, reads: *Oleum ore ferre* — and he explicitly states that it is a '*proverbium*'. This is the form (with Martial's '*ferre*', instead of Calderinus' '*gestare*') Erasmus chose in 1500 for his *Collectanea*, where he also called it a proverb. Cognatus' comment, however, comes as a surprise, for it appears to be inspired not by Erasmus' elucidation in 1500, but by the one given eight years later, in his new *Adagia* edition in which *Oleum ore ferre* was eliminated. Cognatus' explanatory notes concerning 'Oil in the *mouth*' are, in fact, an elaboration of Erasmus' alternative option in 1508, concerning the meaning of 'Oil in the *ear*'. Provided that one reads '*in auriculam*', i.e. in the accusative, Erasmus did not rule out the possibility that the dripping of oil into someone's ear should be understood as the wheedling of a flatterer. Cognatus now also explains 'Having oil in the *mouth*' as referring to the smooth talk of flatterers.

Thus Cognatus' interpretation of *Oleum ore ferre* is completely at variance with the explanation given by Calderinus, the *Collectanea*, and Godofredus<sup>6</sup>. He writes: *Oleum autem pro assentatione et blanditiis, palpoque, ac fictis sermonibus, etiam in sacris scriptis invenimus*, 'oil' used in the sense of flattery and honeyed words, of fair and hypocritical speeches, is also found in the Holy Bible'. This is, he then writes, how

<sup>5</sup> In his adage *Oleum in ore gestat* Godofredus only refers to the *Dies Geniales*, lib. XV, ch. 5, by his Neapolitan confrère Alexander ab Alexandro, edited in Rome, 1522 and often reprinted. However, no mention of an ancient source is made in this book either.

<sup>6</sup> The differences in interpretation are reflected in the distinct headings under which the adages are included in the 16th- and 17th-century compilations of *adagia*-collections: Godofredus' *Oleum ore gestat* is to be found under '*Taciturnitas aut Silentium*', Cognatus' *Oleum ore ferre* under '*Adulatio*', while Erasmus' *Oleum in auricula*, conformably to his own *Index iuxta locos*, is classified under '*Philautia*', self-love: self-complacency and self-conceit (together with, among others, the adage *Philautoi*: 292, LB II 147 C-F).

the Church Fathers used to explain it too, especially when discussing the rather obscure fifth verse from Psalm 139/140 (which, for that matter, has come down to us in a highly corrupted form in the Hebrew text of the Bible). I quote Cognatus: *Oleum peccatoris non pinguefaciet caput meum*, 'the sinner's oil (sc. his flattering and hypocritical talk) will not anoint my head'. Having reached this point, Cognatus brings up, *expressis verbis*, the 1508 version of Erasmus' adage 'Oil in the ear'. And although no mention is made of the New Testamentary *venditores olei* to whom Erasmus refers, it must have been exactly these merchants who directed Cognatus to the Psalmist. After all, several Church Fathers, Augustine in particular, have occupied themselves with the parabolic oil-sellers and have invariably quoted this line from the Book of Psalms in their comments.

*Cognatus: a new interpretation of Martial?*

In quoting the 1508 version of the adage, Cognatus perverted the essence of Erasmus' explanation. For Erasmus clearly made a distinction between the two forms of his adage, each having its own meaning. In the form he prefers himself, his 'main form', i.e. the one ending in '*in auricula*', it is applicable to someone with an *auris supina* (a backwards turned, i.e. a disdainful ear), whereas with the ending '*in auriculam*' it can be applied to an *assentator*. From this 'flatterer', who, as it were, drips oil into someone's ear, Cognatus isolates 'oil' as a metaphor for 'flattery', to reapply it, ironically enough, to the main form of Erasmus' own adage. *Oleum ferre in auricula*, he states, taking the ablative properly into account, *videtur dici de eo qui assentatoribus et adulantibus aures patefaciebat*, 'To have oil in the ear' seems to have been used to refer to someone who always lent a willing ear to flatterers and sycophants'. And before introducing a second psalm-text, he lashes out against the *potentiores* of his own time, the kings and princes, the higher and lower clergy who eagerly offer their heads and ears to be greased with oil.

Cognatus does not actually give an interpretation of Martial. But if one were to apply his — false — explanation of the main form of Erasmus' adage (*Oleum in auricula*) to Marullus, the man would not be a flatterer *himself*, as in Erasmus' alternative option (*in auriculam*), but rather someone who is fond of *being* flattered, which is why he walks around with an ear full of 'oil'. As we have seen, Crusius rejected this

interpretation and it has not been reconsidered since. What Crusius did, however, was to continue on the notion he came across in Cognatus, that *Oleum in ore ferre* in ancient times had been a proverbial saying applied to flatterers.

The idea of *Oleum ore ferre* (or: *gestare*) being a set phrase, ultimately went back to Calderinus, who had advanced it — without mentioning a source — in his commentary on Martial. A set phrase, but coined to signify 'to hold one's tongue' i.e. 'not being *able*', or, as Godofredus puts it, 'not being *allowed* to speak'. The meaning Cognatus attaches to this saying is entirely of his own making and only supported by Biblical passages in which 'oil' is used in the sense of 'flattery'. By way of association, Cognatus creates a proverb that is based on a mixture of the 1500 and 1508 versions of Erasmus' adage. Crusius wondered where Cognatus had found his 'proverb'. This question has now been sufficiently answered. It may be doubtful whether Calderinus' 'Oil in the mouth' was actually a set phrase in Martial's time, but it is certain that Cognatus simply concocted the meaning he put on these words. And it was this concoction that formed Crusius' starting-point. Owing to his failure to trace the historical background of Erasmus' and Cognatus' adages, Crusius was building on a tottery basis when, as a variant of the explanation of 'To have oil in the ear' given by Cognatus, he fabricated his own: 'to flatter by obsequious listening'. It will hardly be surprising — since by now it has become a kind of comedy of scholarly errors and mistaken identities — that it is this self-same fancy explanation which turns up again in the Loeb and Budé editions of Martial.

One other point deserves our attention. Crusius praises Cognatus because he does not agree with Erasmus' textual criticism in the Marullus epigram. As we have seen, Erasmus was prepared to allow for the explanation of 'oil' in terms of 'flattery', but only on the condition that '*in auricula*' would then be restored to '*in auriculam*', whereas Cognatus did not see any problem in combining 'flattery' with '*in auricula*'. Apparently, Crusius did not realize that, in fact, it had been Erasmus who had applied sound textual criticism when he read '*in auricula*' in Martial instead of '*in auriculam*', and that everything was just the other way round. Which brings us to the crucial question already touched upon earlier: what did Martial's text actually look like in the days of Erasmus and Cognatus?

*1500 and 1508: the text in the editions of Martial*

When Erasmus was studying Martial's poems with an eye to his *Collectanea*, using, for instance, the Venice edition from 1498, he came upon the distich about Marullus with the case-ending '*in auriculam*', which is how he copied it. In 1508, however, Erasmus simply changed his text, without comment, into '*in auricula*'. On what grounds? Not, at any rate, on the strength of the Martial editions that had appeared in the meantime. In these editions, too, the epigram ended in '*in auriculam*', just as in the following ones. It is only after a great many more editions and almost a hundred years after Erasmus' '*in auricula*' of 1508, that I came across a Martial text containing '*in auricula*'. And even afterwards, till far into the 19th century, many editions still retain the form in '*-am*'. Not until the Schneidewin edition of 1842 — only a few decennia before Crusius — did the text with the inflected ending in '*-a*' become generally accepted. So after all it is virtually certain that Cognatus followed — perhaps without consulting a Martial edition and in that case probably unwittingly — a conjecture on the part of Erasmus, and not the common Martial text of his time, which is exactly the opposite of what Crusius thought.

One can never quite rule out the possibility that Erasmus set eyes upon a manuscript with a case-ending in '*-a*', and, as a matter of fact, one printed text with this inflection did exist: the afore-mentioned Ferrara edition from 1471. However, in its two lines about Marullus one finds, apart from the deviating ending in '*-a*', three obvious errors. So many and so much better editions had appeared since, that it seems unlikely that Erasmus based himself in 1508 on the Ferrara edition. Still, whether he did or did not find any source in support of his emendation, undoubtedly the predominant reason for the change into '*in auricula*' was his interpretation of the expression.

From what we have seen so far, at least one conclusion should be drawn here: if we merely, as a routine, had compared the LB-*Adagia* with any modern Martial edition, there would have been no surprise and no questions at all concerning the text Erasmus quotes. And hence no insight into what he was actually doing with that witty saying about Marullus. Estimating Erasmus' work at its true value is only possible with a thorough knowledge of the state of philology in his day and age.

*An alternative option: 'in auriculam'*

First, some further remarks on the Martial text as commonly accepted



in Erasmus' time. As has already been said, in 1508 Erasmus considered his new views on the origin and the meaning of the adage he had derived from Martial valid enough to emend the text, opposing the general consensus. Yet, for those who would not want to share his view, he offered an alternative option: an interpretation of the adage without the emendation, i.e. with the case-form '*in auriculam*'. Erasmus holds that in this version the adage can be applied to flatterers who, in a manner of speaking, drip oil into someone's ear by saying things that are pleasant rather than salutary. In support of this, he cites a comparable metaphor from Persius (I, 107-8). If one restores this quotation to its context — as any learned contemporary of Erasmus would do — one will find a satire in which everything is focused on the contrast between pleasant topics of conversation couched in language pleasing the ear, and, as Persius puts it, 'the chafing (*radere*) of delicate ears with the biting (*mordicus*) truth'. If this 'chafing of ears' is equivalent to 'telling the bitter (but salutary) truth', Erasmus must have argued, then the 'pouring into ears of balmy oil' is equivalent to 'saying pleasant (though hardly salutary) things', in sum, to *flattery*<sup>7</sup>.

After this citation from classical literature, there follows a second, very brief reference to quite a different source. The 'sellers of oil in the Gospel', Erasmus writes, are included in the same category to which a possible application of the adage to flatterers belongs. Indeed, the metaphor ('oil' for 'flattery') in both is identical, which makes a reference to the oil-sellers now more appropriate here than in the adage *Fumos vendere*, their original place in 1500, as we have seen. Even if one has no problem in immediately associating these 'oil-sellers' with the parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins in Matthew 25, 1-13, it is not very likely that the present-day reader will see them as *flatterers*. Lack of space prevents me from giving an account of my — fascinating, but extensive — investigations which revealed that Erasmus' interpretation fitted in with a patristic exegetical tradition that was also reflected in commentaries compiled, for instance, in the *Glossa* and the *Catena aurea*, which were in his days generally known. Therefore, as far as his contemporaries were concerned, Erasmus could do with a few words to evoke the 'flatterers' to whom the unfortunate

<sup>7</sup> Cf. also Persius *Sat.* V, 86: 'stoicus hic aurem mordaci lotus aceto. This quotation — in which not balmy oil but its counterpart, biting sour wine or vinegar, has been poured into an ear — occurs already in the *Collectanea*, in the explanatory note on adage 509, *Purgatis auribus* (where it is still to be found: 1394, LB II, 1550 E-F).

foolish virgins were so mercilessly packed off. All the same, this exegesis was a deliberate choice on the part of Erasmus, for it was certainly not the only way to expound this scriptural passage. And Erasmus' Protestant contemporaries, like Luther or Melanchthon, preferred other explanations of the parabolic oil, and oil-sellers, for which they too could call upon the authority of various Church fathers. However, enough has been said about the interpretation of the adage featuring '*in auricula*'. Let us now return to the version which Erasmus preferred in 1508, the one showing the case-form '*-a*'.

*The merits of Erasmus' new explanation in 1508*

Is it a coincidence that the conclusion found in the *Collectanea* — i.e. that in epigram V, 77, Marullus is mocked because he does not want to listen to anybody — remains unaltered in the *Adagia* eight years later? After all, Erasmus presents the adage in a fundamentally different form (with '*in auricula*'), while he furthermore adds an explanation that is based on arguments fundamentally different from those in 1500. At that time he had relied — be it not without reserve — on Calderinus, who believed that the point of this distich could be found in an unexpected variation Martial had made on a current expression. Now, in 1508 Erasmus rigorously dismisses this idea and no longer includes in his *Adagia* the supposedly existing proverb *Oleum ore gestare*. Calderinus had made no mention of any source, and apparently Erasmus had never come across it in spite of his wide reading. Therefore he now regards Martial's words as a proverbial saying in itself, and transcribes them literally as an adage, that is: almost literally, for his interpretation of the expression compelled him to emend it in the way described above.

For his new explanation Erasmus no longer relies on language: he no longer tries to explain 'Oil in the *ear*' by transferring to it a metaphorical meaning of 'Oil in the *mouth*'. Instead, he now looks for the origin of what he considers to be an adage, in the physical world, i.e. he looks at the posture someone adopts who has really got oil in his ear and does not want it to run out. The head then is held in the same backwards tilted position that is used — at least nowadays — when someone wants to give expression to his disdain and reluctance to listen. One might say that here a figure of speech has been derived from a specific gesture as an expression of someone's thoughts and feelings,

or, to quote Erasmus' own words from his theoretical introduction to the *Adagia*, first published in the 1508 edition: from the transfer of a *corporis gestus ad animi rem* (LB II, 10D).

Erasmus sustains his explanation on the level of physical reality by having Aristotle answer the question why and when someone would put oil into his ear. To that end he comes up with divers in a brief summary of Aristotle's *Problemata*, section 32, questions 10 and 11, which are among thirteen questions that *ad aures pertinent*. In referring to these divers, Erasmus is not trying to draw a direct parallel with Martial's distich; he just wants to record that — in ancient times — people actually dripped oil into their ears, thereby adopting the posture that inevitably goes with it.

At the beginning of his commentary, he shows himself to be equally conscientious with regard to this kind of historical facts when he cites a typically scholastic remark (about Sophocles' *Oedip. Col.*, 1, 674). He had found this remark in 'the Suda' (A 2574), the great Byzantine lexicon which in Erasmus' time was called '*Suidas*' after its supposed compiler, and which was first printed in 1499. Considered in isolation, this remark is almost incomprehensible. It does not even show that the first three words are from Aeschylus (fr. 126; H.J. Mette, ed., 1959, no. 99) and that only the last six are from the scholiast himself. Nevertheless, this citation from the *Suda*, together with the Latin rendering of its last four words, form an important part of Erasmus' meticulous argumentation. In antiquity people did indeed make a distinction between someone 'who holds his ear (high) up', that is, 'who is pricking up his ears', and someone 'who holds his ear (high) above himself', that is someone 'who holds one of his ears high up in the air', by tilting his head both backwards and sideways.

Again I shall have to be brief, but one thing is certain, here we see the philologist Erasmus at his best: from his immense knowledge of antiquity he produces two references to make it plausible that Martial's 'Oil in the ear', taken literally, could evoke the image of a particular position of the head. Only one point that would decide the argument seems to be missing: what frame of mind was expressed by this gesture of the head? What did it mean? It is almost characteristic of Erasmus that the seeming gap in his line of reasoning could, in fact, only be filled by those among his contemporaries whose knowledge of the classics approximated his own. For his clinching argument — and a very convincing argument it is — can only be recognized by someone

who knows the original context of what turns out to be a quotation from Martial himself: '*supina auris*', twice repeated by Erasmus and emphasized once more by his '*aurem supinare*' a few lines further down<sup>8</sup>. Indeed, the keystone of Erasmus' interpretation is precisely this '*auris supina*' which he took from Martial VI, 42, 22-23. And certainly, he could not have found a more explicit passage: the gesture of the 'backwards turned ear' expressed indisputably an *unwillingness to listen*.

Erasmus' interpretation of Marullus as someone who does not want to listen to other people is until now by far the best-founded explanation of Martial V, 77, based on purely classical sources. Therefore it is all the more regrettable that nowadays the *Adagia* are cited in two of the most frequently used Martial editions as the authoritative source for seeing Marullus as someone who flatters others by listening obsequiously to them. In point of fact, this interpretation does not occur in Erasmus at all — neither in the *Adagia* nor in the *Collectanea* from 1500. Moreover, where in this explanation 'oil' has been taken as 'flattery', only scriptural phrases have been adduced in evidence: hardly a reliable source of information for a correct understanding of Martial.

### Conclusion

Finally, as to the question formulated at the beginning of this article whether in connection with this epigram Erasmus' name appears rightly in modern Martial philology, two remarks need to be made. First: Erasmus is mentioned as the one who identified *Oleum in auricula ferre* as an adage and included it as such in his *Adagia*<sup>9</sup>. This may seem the most spectacular point, but actually it is the weakest. No doubt Erasmus realized this himself, for at the end of his commentary he apparently felt the need to justify the entry of this very adage. I cannot go too deeply into this, but the idea that Martial himself indicates (by '*narratur*'; cf. LB II, 13D) that the phrase in question was frequently

<sup>8</sup> *Auris supina* is also included under the heading '*Philautia*' in Erasmus' *Index iuxta locos* (col. 51 in LB II), although it does not occur as an entry (an adage as such) in the *Adagia*. The same holds for *Oleum vendere*, obviously thoughtless also listed under '*Philautia*', whereas it actually should be put under '*Adulatio*' (col. 68-69).

*Oleum in auriculam*, by the way, does not appear *sub* '*Adulatio*', nor elsewhere in this Index.

<sup>9</sup> A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter u. sprichwörterlichen Redensarten der Römer* (1890, repr. Hildesheim 1962), for whom Erasmus' work was literally 'grundlegend' (p. XXXVIII), entered Martial's phrase (no. 210, s.v. *auricula*), but he was not convinced of the proverbial nature of *ferre oleum in auricula*.

used, and that, consequently, it must have been a fixed expression, simply does not hold. Besides, if in Martial's days *Oleum in auricula ferre* had really been a stock phrase, known and used by everybody, the epigram would not have contained any wit, and '*belle (dixisse)*' would have been floating in the air.

Secondly, as for the meaning of Martial's words, we have seen that Erasmus' name is erroneously mentioned in connection with 'adulation by obsequious listening' as an interpretation of the text he himself emended to *Oleum in auricula*. In fact, this interpretation proved to be what Crusius and Lindsay had fabricated from Cognatus' contamination. The typification of Marullus as a 'flatterer' — and then by *saying* pleasing things, not by *listening* in a cringing way — was for Erasmus only conceivable with the inflected form '*in auriculam*', the most current reading till well into the 19th century.

Martial's text has now been established on the basis of all relevant manuscripts: it reads '*in auricula*'. This confirms Erasmus' emendation. Therefore the time is ripe for the classical philologist to scrutinize at last the elaborate and compelling elucidation Erasmus himself has given of *that* reading. Indeed, Erasmus merits an attentive ear where he ascribes to Marullus a reluctant one.

Universiteit van Amsterdam

MARCUS DE SCHEPPER

ERASMUS' LETTER TO CORNELIUS CROCUS  
(RE)DISCOVERED\*

TEXT [Ep. 2259A]

Erasmus to Cornelius Crocus, Freiburg 23 January <1530>.

Erudito iuveni Cornelio Croco Aemsteldammensi

S.P. Et tibi privatim et Hollandiae nostrae publice  
gratulator, Croce carissime, tibi quod animum tuum veris ac  
perennibus bonis et ornas et locupletas, patriae quod in  
5 dies magis ac magis elegantioribus litteris enitescit,  
proque Como et Baccho Musis ac philologiae litare studet.  
Ceterum, quod in me geris amicum animum, libenter hoc  
nomine tibi debeo, certe in amore mutuo non cessurus, ut  
ceteris omnibus sim inferior. Si te cupiditas habet quae  
10 hic geruntur cognoscendi, ex Nicolao Cannio meo multas  
iliadas audies. Cura ut quam rectissime valeas, et in isto  
pulcherrimo litterarum stadio cursum quem coepisti peragas  
feliciter.

Datum Friburgi 10. Kalen<das> Febru<arias>.

15 Erasmus Roter<odamus> mea manu.

TRANSLATION  
by Charles FANTAZZI

To the learned young man, Cornelius Crocus of Amsterdam. Cordial greetings. Both to you personally and to our country of Holland publicly I give my congratulations, dearest Crocus; to you because you

\* I would like to express my deepest gratitude to Johan Devroe and Nicolaas van der Blom, both genuine *viri erasmiani*, who generously provided liberal access to their Erasmus treasures and learning.

continue to enhance and enrich your mind with true and lasting blessings, to your country because with each passing day it gains more and more lustre in the field of polite letters, and it strives to make acceptable offerings to the Muses and philology instead of Comus and Bacchus. For the friendly sentiments you bear towards me I willingly admit my debt, but certainly in mutual affection I shall not yield to you, though I be inferior in all else. If you are desirous of knowing what is going on here, you will hear many Iliads from my servant Nicolaas Kan. Take care that you keep yourself in excellent health and that in your splendid literary career you successfully finish what you have begun.

Given at Freiburg, 23 January  
Erasmus of Rotterdam in my own hand.

#### COMMENTARY

Only a few additional letters have been found since the completion of P.S. Allen's exemplary and comprehensive edition of Erasmus' correspondence<sup>1</sup>. The present discovery not only adds to our knowledge of Erasmus' relations to his native country, but also to the history of humanism in the Northern Netherlands. The Erasmus letter is to be found in Cornelius Crocus' *Propaedeumatum grammaticae institutionis libelli duo* (Amsterdam, Doen Pietersz, 1532). This book is the long lost first edition of Crocus' Latin grammar, and at the same time an unrecorded Amsterdam post-incunabulum<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Opus epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami* denuo recognitum et auctum per P.S. Allen, 12 vols. (Oxonii, 1906-1958) — quoted as Allen, Ep.. For additions cf. *La correspondance d'Érasme* traduite et annotée d'après le texte latin de l'*Opus epistolarum* de P.S. Allen, H.M. Allen et H.W. Garrod, 12 vols. (Bruxelles, 1967-1984), VIII p. 387 (ad Ep. 2233A) and XII p. 5 (ad Ep. 956A, 1593A and 2518A). Cf. also *Bibliographie de l'Humanisme des Anciens Pays-Bas. Avec un répertoire bibliographique des humanistes et poètes néo-latins. Supplément 1970-1985* avec compléments à l'édition de A. Gerlo et H.D.L. Vervliet (Bruxelles 1972), sous la rédaction de Marcus de Schepper avec la collaboration de Chris L. Heesakkers (Bruxelles, 1988), items 7550, 7613, 7740, 7960, 8114, 8129, 8325 and 8418. Most recently: C.M. Bruehl, "Zwei unbekannte Briefe von Erasmus", *Quaerendo*, 16 (1986), 243-258 and Erika Rummel, "Ein unbekannter Brief von Erasmus an Christoph Truchsess Baron von Waldburg", *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen*, 12 (1988), 101-102.

<sup>2</sup> No description of it can be found in the following bibliographies and published library catalogues: Wouter Nijhoff & M.E. Kronenberg, *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*, 2 vols. and 5 parts ('s-Gravenhage, 1923-1971), quoted as NK; E.W. Moes, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw voortgezet door C.P. Burger Jr.*, 4 vols. (Amsterdam, 1900-1915; *herdruk, vermeerderd met registers en een*

*Description:*

CORNELIUS CROCUS, *Propaedeumatum grammaticae institutionis libelli duo*. Amsterdam, Doen Pietersz, 1532. (See Plate)

*collation:*

8°: A-H<sup>8</sup> [\$1 signed (- A1)], 64 leaves, unnumbered [pp. 1-128]

*contents:*

A1: title. A1<sup>v</sup>: Erasmus' letter to Crocus. A2<sup>r</sup>-4<sup>r</sup>: Crocus' letter to 'Gerardo Alberti fi. fratri suo'. A4<sup>v</sup>-H8<sup>r</sup>: Latin grammar. H8<sup>r</sup>: 'Lectori' and 'Erratula quaedam [...]'. H8<sup>v</sup>: blank.

*typography:*

The text is set in roman and textura type; some words and phrases have been printed in red; Greek words have been added in handwriting (by Crocus himself?). The text is in Latin with some Greek, and with translation in Dutch of the *exempla*.

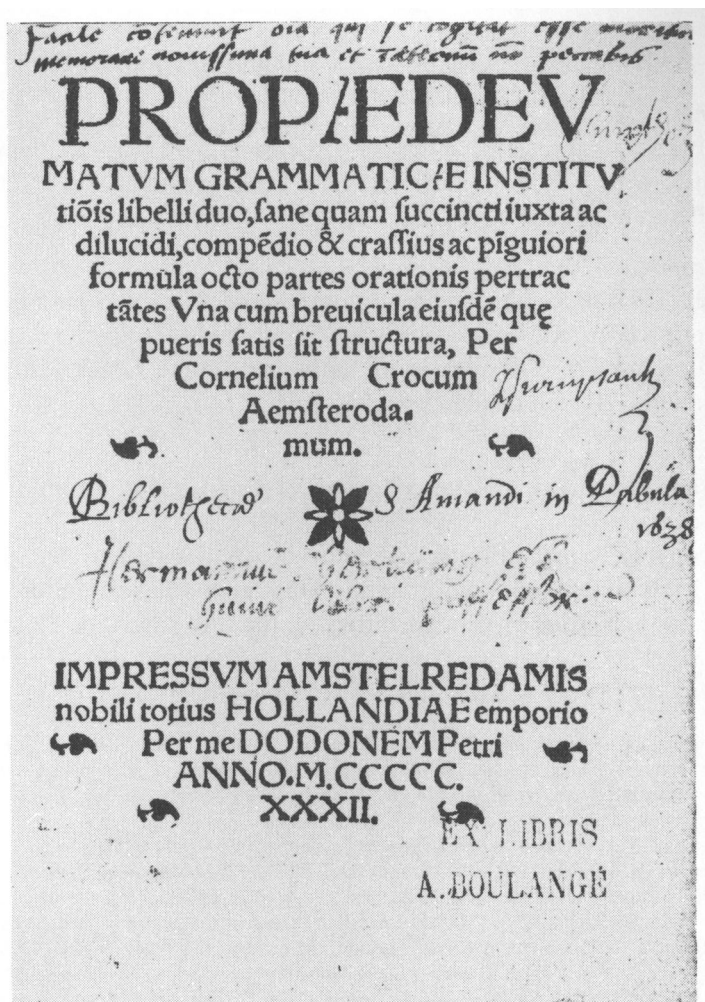
*copy:*

Haasrode (Belgium), private collection of Johan Devroe (antiquarian booksellers).

The copy is bound in 19th c. boards covered with marbled paper; (older) red edges; some old marginal annotations have been cropped. There are numerous ownership entries on the title-page (See Plate).

*literatuurlijst samengesteld door* P.C.J. van der Krogt, 2 vols., Utrecht, 1988); A.J. Kölker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus, twee Amsterdamse priester-humanisten. Hun leven, werken en theologische opvattingen. Bijdrage tot de kennis van het Humanisme in Noord-Nederland in de eerste helft van de zestiende eeuw* (Nijmegen/Utrecht, 1963); *Catalogue of Books printed on the Continent of Europe, 1501-1600 in Cambridge libraries* compiled by H.M. Adams, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1967); *Catalogus van de boeken gedrukt vóór 1600 aanwezig op de Centrale Bibliotheek van de Rijksuniversiteit Gent* samengesteld door J. Machiels (Gent, 1979); *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, 360 vols. + Supplement 6 vols. (London/München/New York/Paris, 1979-1988); *Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale. Auteurs*, 231 vols. (Paris, 1897-1981); *The National Union Catalog Pre-1956 Imprints (...) and Supplement*, 754 vols. (London/Chicago, 1969-1981). The only work referring to a probable 1532 edition of Crocus' *Propaedeumata* is the fundamental study of Low Countries Humanism: Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense 1517-1550*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 10-13 = Université de Louvain. Recueil de Travaux d'Histoire et de Philologie. 3e Série, Fascicule 42; 4e Série, Fasc. 4, 5, 10, 4 vols. (Louvain, 1951-1955), II, p. 204 (based on the date of the dedicatory letter "31 January 1532" in the Antwerp 1537 edition; his suggestion is not taken over by Kölker, *o.c.*, p. 181).





Erudito iuueni Cornelio Croco  
Aemsteldammenſi.

S. P. Et tibi priuatim et Hollandiæ noſtræ publice gratulor Croce chariſſime, tibi quod a nimum tuum veris ac perhennibus bonis et or nas et locupletas, patriæ quod in dies magis ac magis elegantioribus literis eniteſcit, proq; Co mo et baccho Muſis ac philologiæ litare ſtudet Cæterum quod in me geris amicum animū, li benter hoc nomine tibi debeo, certe in amore mutuo tibi non ceſſurus, vt ceteris omnibus ſim inferior. Si te cupiditas habet quæ hic ge runtur cognoscendi, ex Nicolao Cannio meo multas iliadas audies. Cura ut quam rectiſſime valeas, et in iſto pulcherrimo literarum ſtadio curſum quem coepiſti peragas feliciter. Datū Friburgi. io. Calen. Febru.



Erasmus Roter. mea manu



*Bibliographical and textual history:*<sup>3</sup>

Four editions of the *Propaedeumata* are recorded at present:

1. Amsterdam, Doen Pietersz, 1532<sup>4</sup>
  - includes Erasmus' letter to Crocus and Crocus' letter to Gerardus Alberti
  - not in C.L.
  - copy described above
2. Antwerp, Michiel Hillen, March 1537
  - contains Crocus' letter to Gerardus Alberti<sup>5</sup>, but not the Erasmus letter
  - C.L. 35 (= NK 2729)
  - copies at Strängnäs (C.L./NK) and Gotha (NK)
3. Antwerp, Michiel Hillen, 1545
  - C.L. 019: based on the imperial privilege dated 4 July 1545 and printed on verso of the title-page of the 1549 edition
  - no copy is known to be extant of this edition
4. Antwerp, Joannes Gravius for Hendrick Aelbertsz at Amsterdam, 1549<sup>6</sup>
  - C.L. 74
  - copy at Rome (C.L.)

The *Propaedeumata* were *not* reprinted in the collected works edited by Andreas Schottus S.J. at Antwerp 1612-1613<sup>7</sup>.

*Ep. 2259A:*

The existence of the present letter has been assumed on the basis of

<sup>3</sup> With reference to Kölker's bibliography of Crocus (*o.c.*, pp. 302-332); C.L. = *Croci Liber* (*o.c.*, p. VIII).

<sup>4</sup> Editions by Doen Pietersz are recorded in The Netherlands for the period 1518-1532: see J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus 1473-1800. Nederlandse boekdrukkers en boekverkopers. Met plaatsen en jaren van werkzaamheid. Dutch printers and booksellers. With places and years of activity*, Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica XXVIII (Nieuwkoop, 1989), p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> The text of this letter has been reprinted, from the Strängnäs copy, in J.F.M. Sterck, *Onder Amsterdamsche humanisten. Hun opkomst en bloei in de 16e eeuwse stad* (Hilversum/Amsterdam, 1934), pp. 135-136 ("Bijlage" ad p. 54).

<sup>6</sup> J.A. Gruys & C. de Wolf, *Thesaurus* (*o.c.*, n. 4), p. 3 have recorded editions for the period 1551-1571 only.

<sup>7</sup> Described by J. Fabri S.J. for the *Bibliotheca Belgica* in 1965. See *Bibliotheca Belgica. Bibliographie générale des Pays-Bas* fondée par Ferdinand van der Haeghen, rééditée sous la direction de Marie-Thérèse Lenger, 7 vols. (Bruxelles, 1964-1975), VI. *Supplément. Index* (1970), pp. 177-192.

Crocus' answer, Ep. 2354 (July 1530)<sup>8</sup>, which refers to an 'epistola [...] autographa' (11. 2-3).

The *date* is confirmed by the following arguments:

- it was written from Freiburg: Erasmus' stay there lasted from April 1529 through June 1535 (see the dates in Allen's edition).
- Crocus' answer: July 1530 (Ep. 2354).
- Ep. 2260 (28 January 1530) to Pieter Gillis: it mentions the recent publication of Crocus' *Farrago*.
- Cannius' returning home: he leaves Erasmus in January 1530 (Ep. 2261, 2343, 2348, 2349 and esp. 2356) and is present in Amsterdam in July 1530 (Ep. 2352).

**1 Cornelio Croco Aemsteldammensi:** Cornelius Crocus (c. 1500 Amsterdam — Rome 1550), student of Alardus Aemstelredamus (1491-1544) and Adrianus Barlandus (1486-1538) at Louvain, was a Latin teacher in his native town, and from 1531 to 1537 and 1544 to 1549 rector of one of the two Latin schools at Amsterdam. In 1549 he decided to join the Jesuit order and travelled to Rome where he fell ill and died at the end of 1550<sup>9</sup>. He composed a *Farrago sordidorum verborum*, which was added to the first, unauthorized edition (by Alardus) of Erasmus' *Paraphrasis in Elegantias Vallae* (Cologne, Joannes Gymnicus, 1529). Erasmus was not at all pleased by this publication, but as the friendly tone of the present letter confirms, he did not hold it to be Crocus' fault. He rightly found him a fellow-victim of Alardus' dealings (Cf. ASD p. 199).

**2 Hollandiae nostrae:** Erasmus as 'Homo Batavus'! (a recurring theme in Erasmus scholarship since the adagium *Auris Batava*).

**7-9:** Cf. Ep. 2354 (11. 3-4) 'Equidem hunc vivere semper optavi diem, quum aliquo tuorum numero esse contingeret'.

**8 non cessurus:** Cf. Ep. 2354 (1.8) 'cui amorem abs te eum defers quo te

<sup>8</sup> *Opus epistolarum* (o.c., n. 1), VIII (1934), pp. 494-495 (Ep. 2354); French translation in *La correspondance* (o.c., n. 1), VIII (1979), pp. 630-632.

<sup>9</sup> *Contemporaries of Erasmus. A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and the Reformation* ed. Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher, 3 vols. (Toronto/Buffalo/London, 1985-1987), I, p. 362 (by C.G. van Leijenhorst). The fundamental study of Crocus is A.J. Kölker (o.c., n. 2). The discontent aroused by the combined unauthorized publication of Erasmus' *Paraphrasis* and Crocus' *Farrago* is described in the ASD edition of the *Paraphrasis: Paraphrasis seu potius Epitome in Elegantiarum libros Laurentii Vallae* ed. C.L. Heesakkers and J.H. Waszink, in: Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera omnia, recognita et adnotatione critica instructa notisque illustrata. Ordinis primi tomus quartus* (Amsterdam, 1973), pp. 187-351 (esp. pp. 194-199).

cessurum neget'. No more Erasmus references to Crocus are known. Crocus' florid answer (Ep. 2354) and his later eulogistic references to Erasmus however, testify to his lasting admiration for the *alter Prometheus* (Ep. 2354 l. 18).

**10 Nicolao Cannio:** Nicolaas Kan (Amsterdam after 1500 — Spaarnwoude 1555) had joined Erasmus' household in 1527 as a Greek and Latin copyist. In 1530 he returned to Holland (Cf. *supra*) to become a parish priest, but he also taught Latin at Amsterdam while Crocus was rector<sup>10</sup>.

**11-13 in isto (...) stadio (...) feliciter:** Cf. Ep. 2354 ll. 22-23 'Quod me hortaris vt in pulcherrimo literarum stadio cursum coeptum peragam (...).'

**14 Friburgi:** Erasmus had moved to Freiburg in April 1529 (Cf. *supra*).

**15 mea manu:** Cf. Ep. 2354 ll. 2-3 'epistola [...]autographa'. Erasmus' autograph is not known at present.

Centrum voor de Bibliografie van de Neerlandistiek  
Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert I  
Keizerslaan 4  
B-1000 BRUSSEL

<sup>10</sup> *Contemporaries* (o.c., n. 9), II (1986), pp. 252-253 (by C.G. van Leijenhorst), with reference to earlier studies.

Mary QUINLAN-McGRATH

BLOSIUS PALLADIUS, *SUBURBANUM AUGUSTINI CHISII*.  
INTRODUCTION, LATIN TEXT  
AND ENGLISH TRANSLATION\*

INTRODUCTION

*Suburbanum Augustini Chisii*, the second long poem praising the new estates of the world's richest man, was written by Blossius Palladius, and published in Rome in January of 1512<sup>1</sup>. Given the identical subject for the two Chigi poems, the differences in the two pieces are instructive. The writer of the first, Aegidius Gallus, an actor and playwright, presented a work that is learned, ornate, and could easily have been converted into a piece for the Renaissance stage. Antiquity, pagan and golden, is translated to the Cinquecento, and arrives to admire and serve Chigi's villa.

Blossius chose a different course, silver and deliberately less labored. His acknowledged mentor is Papinius Statius, author of the *Silvae*. Like Statius, Blossius claims to have tossed off this *silva* in haste, overcome as he was with admiration for his subject<sup>2</sup>. The 1512 poem is meant to

\* I am particularly indebted to Edward Bassett (1914-1984) for help with the Latin translation. A special thanks also to Professor Nancy Helmbold, for her generous consultations, and to the editor of this journal for his patience and assistance.

<sup>1</sup> For the first poem see M. Quinlan-McGrath, "Aegidius Gallus, De Viridario Augustini Chigii, Vera Libellus ...," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 38 (1989), 1-99. The copy of B. Palladius, *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (Rome: J. Mazochius, 1512), in the Vatican Library, BAV, Stamp. Barberini GGG. VII. 62, was used for this edition. This poem was probably written in the Fall of 1511, see n. 3. The British Library copy appears to be an earlier state of the same printing. It has proofreader's marks for points which were later corrected for the Vatican copy. Compare plates 1-5, pp. 150-154.

<sup>2</sup> Blossius, in his introductory letter to the patron, makes this claim. Statius, in his introductory letter to Stella, seems preoccupied with the speed of writing each *Silva*, see Statius *Silvae*, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1928), pp. 4-5; ed. A. Marastoni (Leipzig, Teubner, 1970), pp. 1-2. By contrast, Aegidius claims to have been dedicated to his task for a long time, perhaps a year, see Quinlan-McGrath, loc. cit., p. 3, n. 8, and p. 14. Each poet has a clear personal motivation for the differing claims, Aegidius wants protection and a generous remuneration, Blossius is emulating his antique poet, and bragging a bit.

seem almost a dictation by the poet as he moves eagerly around the estate. Awestruck, but not mute, Blossius wanders outside and in, upstairs and down, is pulled outdoors once more, and finally pauses to rest beside the great Tiber, which adds its resounding praises as well.

Blossius was a very smart man. Given his extraordinary classical learning, the faithfulness with which he followed a chosen antique model, the simplicity of his plot, and the high premium placed upon improvisation in the Cinquecento, one can almost imagine that this thirty-two page piece was tossed off in a sitting. *Sprezzatura* is its aim and its distinction<sup>3</sup>.

Before taking a closer look at the poem, however, a word on the life of Biagio Pallai<sup>4</sup>. Blossius was of Sabine origin, apparently a sensitive background for a young man who was to become one of the most

<sup>3</sup> Blossius may have spent as long on his piece, as did Aegidius. Blossius' piece must have been known as early as October, 1511, see M. McGrath, *The Villa of Agostino Chigi: The Poems and Paintings*, 2 vols. (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1983), 1, p. 127. Hieronymus Donatus, who apparently died in the Fall of 1511, seems to have been the author of an introductory poem to Blossius' *Suburbanum*. It is one of the poems of the appendix. However one can only speculate on the procrastinations of the author or of the publisher.

<sup>4</sup> The best sources for the life of Blossius are S. Borgia, "Blosii Palladii Romani Oratio de praestatione obedientiae Rhodiorum Leoni X ...," *Anecdota litteraria*, 4 vols. (Rome, 1773), 2: 163-206; and G. Marini, *Degli archiatri pontifici* (Rome, 1784), 2: 273-274. F. Bonamici, *De claris pontificiarum epistolarum scriptoribus* (Rome, 1770), pp. 86, 223-224, 323, has a few notes.

G. Tiraboschi, *Storia della letteratura italiana*, 16 vols. (Milan, 1826), 7: 1983-84; V. Cian, "Gioviana", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 17 (1891), 277-357, particularly pp. 281 ff.; F. Cavicchi, "Una vendetta dell'Equicola", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 37 (1901), 94-98; A. Ferrajoli, "Due lettere inedite di Francesco Berni", *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 45 (1905), 67-73; A. Lesen, "Blosio Palladio e il cenacolo letterario di Giano Goritz", *Terra Sabina* 4 (1926), 37-44; D. Gnoli, "Orti letterari nella Roma di Leon X". *Nuova antologia: rivista di lettere, scienze ed arti*, ser. 7 (Jan.-Feb. 1930), vol. 269: 3-19, 137-48; *ibid.*, *La Roma di Leon X*, (Milan, 1938), pp. 157, 160-161; G. Battelli, "Un umanista romano del Cinquecento: Blosio Palladio", *La Bibliofilia*, 43 (1941), 16-23; F. Ascarelli, *Annali tipografici di Giacomo Mazzocchi* (Florence, 1961), p. 55; G. Moncallo, *Imperia de Paris nella Roma del Cinquecento e i suoi cantori funebri* (Rome, 1962), pp. 168-171; J. Ruyschaert, "Les péripéties inconnues de l'édition des *Coryciana* de 1524", *Atti del convegno di studi su Angelo Colocci: Jesi, 13-14 settembre, 1969* (Città di Castello, 1972), pp. 45-60; F. Ubaldini, *Vita di Mons. Angelo Colocci*, ed V. Fanelli, (Città del Vaticano, 1969), p. 69, n. 113; T.C.P. Zimmerman & S. Levin, "Fabio Vigile's 'Poem of the Pheasant': Humanist Conviviality in Renaissance Rome", *Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth*, ed. P.A. Ramsey (Binghamton, NY., 1982), pp. 265-278; Daniela Pagliai, "Natura e mitologia nella villa di Blosio Palladio", in Silvia Danesi Squarzina (ed.), *Roma centro ideale della cultura dell'Antico nei secoli XV e XVI* (Milan 1989), pp. 347-355, all add interesting insights.

powerful and best-loved literary figures in Cinquecento Rome. He plainly tells us in the 1512 poem that he was born and raised in Rome (l. 424). However almost five years later, on December 13, 1516, the Conservatori of the city bestowed upon him full Roman citizenship, noting that this most illustrious poet and orator had come under ridicule as a Sabine and "fake" Roman<sup>5</sup>.

Palladius devoted himself to literary studies at an early age. He was probably very young when he wrote the poem under study here<sup>6</sup>. But already a letter of 1506 by Inghirami<sup>7</sup> indicates that Blossius was important among the company of the Roman Academy. Our poet is also found among the Academy members who were admirers of the famous courtesan Imperia, and his poem on her death was published in 1512 and later anthologized<sup>8</sup>. He was also acquiring a reputation for witty and burlesque poems at this time<sup>9</sup>.

The *Suburbanum*, the first long work of his which we know, is preceded by the short, and lavishly laudatory poems of his friends Baptista Casalius, Philippus Beroaldus the Younger, Faustus E.M. Capiferreus, Marcus Antonius Casanova, Petrus Cursius Carpinetanus, Il Savoia, and Antonius Laelius. These were all Roman Academy members of some stature, whose names emerge repeatedly in the letters of this time<sup>10</sup>.

With the ascendancy of the Medici Pope, Leo X, in 1513, Palladius' career continued its ascent. He was one of the featured writers for the Trimalchian festival of September, 1513 at the Campidoglio, which conferred Roman citizenship on the Medici family<sup>11</sup>. In addition to the

<sup>5</sup> The document is printed by Borgia, loc. cit., pp. 174-176; "... Romanus Civis verus, & non fictus ..." His family probably came from Colleveteri, *ibid.*, p. 176.

<sup>6</sup> Ferrajoli, loc. cit., p. 67; and Ascarelli, loc. cit., p. 55.

<sup>7</sup> For the letter see M. Gude, *Marquardi Gudii et doctorum virorum ad eum Epistolae* (The Hague, 1714), pp. 139-140.

<sup>8</sup> A. Ferrajoli, *Il ruolo della corte di Leone X*. A cura di V. De Caprio. Biblioteca del Cinquecento 23 (Rome 1984), p. 563. Moncallero, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 168. The date of 1512 is discussed by Moncallero, pp. 43-46, and corroborated by further information in Ascarelli, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Moncallero, loc. cit., pp. 170-171, cites among several of his poems, one on the death of Isabella d'Este's lapdog.

<sup>10</sup> McGrath, op. cit., n. 3 above, pp. 84-100. For more on Il Savoia, see especially Inghirami's letter, op. cit. n. 7 above, and the notes of D. Gnoli, "Il teatro Capitolino del 1513", *Nuova antologia: rivista di lettere, scienze ed arti*, ser. 7 (Jan.-Feb. 1930), vol. 269: 429-430 = *Id.*, *La Roma di Leon X* (Milan 1938), pp. 104-105.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 425-26.



praise given his pastoral eclogue he was particularly applauded the next day as one of the best actors in Plautus' *Poenulus*, staged as part of the festivities<sup>12</sup>. His decree of citizenship three years later speaks of him as an illustrious poet and orator, and notes that he was already one of the reformers of the University of Rome. A collection of his epigrams, *Ut Numa Romuleum traduxit robur ad aras* ... was probably published in 1515<sup>13</sup>. By 1518-19 he was secretary to the powerful Papal Nuncio, Archbishop Roberto Latino Orsini<sup>14</sup>. His orations on the embassy of the Knights of Jerusalem, and on the statue of Leo X for the Campidoglio, both of 1521, exist in print<sup>15</sup>.

During the brief reign of Hadrian VI he was a cleric of the Sacred College of Cardinals<sup>16</sup>. In 1524 he succeeded, where others before him had failed, in publishing the collection of verses known as the *Coryciana*<sup>17</sup>. Some of his poems can be found in that anthology. He was domestic secretary under Clement VII, a position he continued to hold under Paul III and, briefly before his death, under Julius III<sup>18</sup>. As such, he was involved in important diplomatic negotiations<sup>19</sup>.

Prior to the Sack of Rome in 1527, he was one of the essential guests at the joyous literary banquets of Rome. Jacopo Sadoletto, in a well-known letter to Angelo Colocci of 1529, remembered him fondly among the Roman poets at these banquets. Other letters of Sadoletto attest to their warm friendship<sup>20</sup>. The great Ariosto named him, along with Bembo, Sadoletto, Giovio, Molza, Vida, Cavallo and Tebaldeo as one of the eight treasures of Rome which he missed<sup>21</sup>.

After the Sack he reappears as part of the inner circle of literati. He

<sup>12</sup> Gnoli (1930), op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 425-427; see also BAV, Barb. Lat. 4793.

<sup>13</sup> Ascarelli, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 55; Fr. Isaac, *An Index to the Early Printed Books in the British Museum* (London 1938), Vol. 2, p. 7. # 12092, suggests the date. Copy in Yale University Library.

<sup>14</sup> Ferrajoli, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 67; Moncallero, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 168-169.

<sup>15</sup> Borgia, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 191-206, published the impassioned speech on the Turkish danger. The oration on the occasion of the statue dedication is 168 pp. long, and was published without Blossius' name, *Oratio totam fere Romanam Historiam complectens* ..., ed. R. Venuti (Rome, 1735).

<sup>16</sup> Marini, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 273.

<sup>17</sup> Ruyschaert, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 57-60. Ruyschaert points out the improbability of Blossius' charming story, that he sneaked the poems out while Goritz slept.

<sup>18</sup> Marini, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 273.

<sup>19</sup> Borgia, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 183-189.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., pp. 183-186.

<sup>21</sup> Ariosto, *Satira* VII 127-129, and other mentions in *Orlando Furioso* 46.13, and *Lettere* no. 188 (26 July 1530).

was a close friend of Paulo Giovio's. Giovio mentions Blossius along with Colocci, Bernardino Maffei, and Fabio Vigile as dinner guests for the evening in his papal apartments<sup>22</sup>. Giovio and Vigile are found again as co-conspirators in a wonderful evening of dining and poetry at the expense of Blossius<sup>23</sup>. Blossius, as the "Poem of the Pheasant" explains, is cowering on this evening, shamed before the poets of Rome, for the sin of having feasted secretly upon a huge pheasant. Now he must pay the price for his selfish gluttony by entertaining the literati — or be damned for all time in Giovio's history, which will include his crime. We know that Blossius' villa served as the meeting point of the poets at this period, so all would have enjoyed the "horror" of the trial<sup>24</sup>. In a charming description of Blossius' villa, his friend, Girolamo Rorario, notes the spot where Blossius was accustomed to dine amid the fountains and shady groves. Another of Blossius' poems, the *Turundalie*, deals with the frequency of their literary feasts<sup>25</sup>. In the difficult courtly life of Rome, no one was universally loved. But Blossius almost had that distinction<sup>26</sup>. Gregorio Giraldi, Francesco Arsilli, Francesco Berni, MarcAntonio Flaminio, all praise him<sup>27</sup>. Even the difficult Michelangelo seems to have been his friend. Francisco de Hollanda, Buonarroti's biographer, who arrived in Rome in 1538, tells us his introduction to the great artist was arranged by Blossius<sup>28</sup>.

<sup>22</sup> P. Iovius (P. Giovio), *Opera*. Vols. 1-2, *Epistulae*, ed. G. Ferrero (Rome 1956), 1: 138 (to A. Colocci), where it is dated ca. 1534: "Vigil, Blossius et Maphaeus cras prandebunt mecum in Paradiso, ut veteris Academiae laeta sodalitas renovetur. Te maxime omnium doctissimum expectamus. Si per chiragram potes, ut venias te etiam atque etiam precamur. Vale et responde, quia, si obsequi non potes, mavult Blossius ut cenemus." See also 1: 144, 268, and 2: 21, 60.

<sup>23</sup> See Borgia, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 181; Cian, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 286-293, who published the "Poem of the Pheasant" and attributed it to Giovio; and especially Zimmerman and Levin, op. cit. n. 4 above, passim, who describe the context, print the poem and translation, and attribute it to Vigile.

<sup>24</sup> For his villa see the description published by his friend G. Rorario, *Quod animalia bruta ratione utantur melius homine* (Amsterdam, 1654), pp. 88-89; or Gnoli (1938), op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 160-161 and the article of Daniela Pagliai mentioned in note 4. Documents relating to the construction can be found at the Corsini Palace in Rome, in the Archivio di Sta. Maria in Aquiro, Tomes 7-10, especially Tome 8. Thanks to Prof. Paul O. Kristeller, who brought these to my attention.

<sup>25</sup> Battelli, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 19, reprints it.

<sup>26</sup> Marini, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 273-274; and Cavicchi, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 97, present some evidence that Blossius had some of the usual problems.

<sup>27</sup> Ferrajoli, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 70-73; Moncallero, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 170-171, collects most of these.

<sup>28</sup> Francisco de Hollanda, *Da pintura antiga* (Oporto, 1918), p. 179.

Pope Paul III named Palladius Bishop of Foligno in 1540, but Blossius delayed taking the proper priestly steps, and was never consecrated. Finally on the 24th of January, 1547, the post seems to have been re-assigned to Isidoro Clari, although Blossius apparently used the title Bishop-elect until his death on the twelfth of August, 1550<sup>29</sup>.

After so many references to the pleasures of dining, and in an age when the literati were not thin, it comes as something of a surprise to see the handsome bust of Blossius gazing at us from his tomb in the church of Santa Maria in Aquiro<sup>30</sup>. Blossius' passing was greatly mourned in Rome, and his generosity on earth continued through his will. He left his worldly goods (over 30,000 gold ducats) to the Orphanage of Santa Maria in Aquiro and to the Hospital of S. Giacomo degli Incurabili, both serious institutions of merciful works<sup>31</sup>. His personal papers can now be found at the Corsini Palace, in the Archives of that Orphanage.

Nearly a century ago, Domenico Gnoli estimated that if all Palladio's works were collected and studied, he might well be considered one of the best poets and orators of his age<sup>32</sup>. Today, in spite of the rich sources located in Kristeller's *Iter*, Gnoli's challenge still stands untested. Blossius had a long and varied literary career — poet, orator, papal secretary, generous and beloved host of the Roman Academy. We could learn much of this literary period through the collection and study of his oeuvre.

The *Suburbanum* is a youthful work of simple structure. Blossius has come, with all Rome, to admire the new marvel which has arisen on the banks of the Tiber. The beauty stuns him, and he roves through the palace and gardens, exclaiming at all that he sees. The Tiber continues these praises, contrasting the villa with the Barbaric ruins which Rome

<sup>29</sup> Borgia, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 189; Marini, op. cit. n. 4, p. 274; see also BAV, Barberini Lat. 2013 (xxx. 86) which has orations of Clari and a letter to Blossius Palladius, 'episcopus'.

<sup>30</sup> S. Imperi, *Della Chiesa di S. Maria in Aquiro in Roma* (Rome 1866), p. 152; Battelli, op. cit. n. 4 above, p. 17; M. D'Onofrio — C.M. Strinati, *S. Maria in Aquiro (Piazza Capranica)*. Le chiese di Roma illustrate 125 (Rome 1972), pp. 68-69. The text of the inscription is as follows: D.O.M./BLOSIO PALLADIO SABINO/PRAESULI FULGINAT(I), CLEMENTIS VII/PAULI III IULII III PONT(IFICUM) A/SECRETIS, VIRO IN OMNI VITA/PROBATISSIMO, INCURABILIIUM/ORPHANORU(M)QUE SOCII HEREDES/POSUERE M.D.L.

<sup>31</sup> Marini, loc. cit., p. 274.

<sup>32</sup> Gnoli (1930), op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 142-143; *ibid.* (1938), pp. 160-161, Gnoli's notes on Blossius were made in the late 19th century.

had become. In closing, Blossius admires the man who has built this new glory for the city.

There were two principal sources of inspiration for Blossius. One was antique literature, the other was his Renaissance subject. Because Agostino Chigi desired to emulate antiquity, it is more difficult than it might seem to disentangle these two sources. But first let us look to the literary.

Blossius praises the villa and then the patron. In far fewer lines, Blossius' ancestor Statius employed this same simple scheme in his *Silva* on the Villa of Vopiscus, to which Blossius alludes (ll. 40-41). But it is more than this simple scheme which Blossius has used. Our poet seems to have internalized *Silva* I. iii. so thoroughly that we could almost agree with his own suggestion (ll. 8-9) that Statius is the real author of the *Suburbanum*. Statius' structure, details, and occasionally the exact language reappear in our poem, just as one sometimes sees the transmission of genetic features from a parent to a child.

Each poet begins with an overview of his poem (Statius ll. 1-33, Blossius ll. 1-44). Statius identifies the location, the perfection of the site at the river, and its healthful weather, in a few lines (ll. 1-9). Blossius' description of location, the value of the site along the Tiber, and the healthful weather considerations are given with the expansiveness of a Renaissance writer (ll. 15-17, 23-25, 74-87). In the quick overview, Statius rhapsodizes on the surfeit of pleasures available to the mind and eye: Nature has contrived to produce eternal peace along this river (ll. 13-33). Blossius follows suit. By the 37th line, Blossius' vision is already exhausted, and his mind stupefied, due to his survey of the estates. However he waits to discuss the eternal quiet of Chigi's riverbank until ll. 269-286.

Statius wonders what he should describe first, where his middle focus should be, and on what he should conclude (l. 34). Blossius paraphrases the rhetorical question several times, as a way of organizing and re-organizing himself for each set of new marvels (ll. 7, 91-97, 172-173, 181 etc.). Statius then settled on an order which described the works of art and ornament (ll. 47-57), the architecture (ll. 57-62), the feasts (l. 64), the waters (ll. 65-78), the orchards (ll. 81-82), and the surrender of the ancient fields to these (ll. 83-89). Statius' order, lest it appear too planned, is not strictly linear. Blossius' discussion runs parallel, although since his piece is over four times as long, he has even more opportunity to double back. He comments upon the paintings and

ornaments of marble and metal (11. 44-72, 91-99, 108-109, 111-123), the architecture (11. 73-90, 100-107, 110-111, 124-142), the feasts (11. 143-156), and finally the garden elements — the surrender of the ancient fields to Chigi's (11. 166-167), the orchards and flowers (11. 171-240), and the waters (11. 241-259, 269-286, 321-408).

Both poets conclude with praise and prayers for their patrons. Statius notes Vopiscus' gifts in philosophy and poetry, and assures his Epicurean host that Epicurus and Alcinous would have preferred these gardens (11. 81-82, 90-104). Blossius states the same for Chigi (11. 205-206)<sup>33</sup>. Both Statius' and Blossius' final benedictions ask for the enrichment of the estates, and a long life in which to enjoy them. Both poets use the same classical examples — the rivers Tagus and Hermus would wash the estates in riches, and Nestor's old age would be granted to the owners.

In addition to the examples cited, the reader will notice the repetition by Blossius of many of Statius' other details. Where Statius describes the River Anio:

ipse Anien — miranda fides — infraque superque  
saxeus hic tumidam rabiem spumosaque ponit  
murmura, ceu placidi veritus turbare Vopisci  
Pieriosque dies et habentes carmina somnos.

...

hic aeterna quies, ... (11. 20-23, 29)

Blossius imitates him:

Ipse Tybris (miranda fides) infraque: supraque:  
Trux sonat: heic placido propter tua labitur alveo:

...

Pax aeterna loco est. (11. 269-270, 282)

Statius wonders where to begin — with the gilded beams? the lintels carved from citrus trees? the glittering marbles? and then goes on to praise the works of the ancients in gold, silver and bronze, and the richness of the patterned floor<sup>34</sup>. Blossius asks, "Oh, what shall I marvel

<sup>33</sup> However it is the first Chigi poet, Aegidius Gallus, who focused on the gardens as a center of Epicurean and other philosophical debate, as well as a center for poetry, Gallus, op. cit. n. 1 above, Bk. 5, 42-56, 147-150; and McGrath, op. cit. n. 3 above, 1: 179-185. Blossius concentrates on Chigi's kingly generosity toward Rome, and on his noble birth and citizenship (11. 409 ff.).

<sup>34</sup> Statius *Silvae* I. iii. 34-37,  
Quid primum mediumve canam, quo fine quiescam?

at here first? the ceilings? the painted beams? the carved woods? the designs of the tiled floors? the marbles? the ornaments of silver and gold?" (11. 91-98). Statius mentions the villa's saunas (11. 43-46), and Blossius does not fail to note Chigi's steam rooms (11. 110-111).

Statius' pattern of rhetorical questions, "Quid nunc ... mirer ... quid te ... quid referam ..." (11. 57, 59, 64 ...), is imitated by Blossius', "Quid ... dicam ... Quid memorem ... memoremve (11. 208-210), Quid enumerem ... (11. 215-216), Quid ... enumerem ... Quidve ... (1. 233). As in Statius (11. 83, 85, 88), these rhetorical questions are interspersed with exhortations (11. 205-206, 239-240, 420, 426, 428, etc.).

Blossius does not mention the influence of another poet of the Silver Age, namely Martial. This antique author sends a much more subtle resonance through his piece. Compare for example Martial's epigram on the Villa of Julius Martialis on the Janiculum (Epigram IV. 64)<sup>35</sup>. This beautiful little poem of only 35 lines declares Julius' gardens the equal of those of the Hesperides and of Alcinous (ll. 2, 29), and notes that the villa is both a town mansion and a country seat (l. 25). Blossius makes the same claims for Chigi (11. 1-4, 200-206, 300-306).

But more specifically, Blossius was partly quoting and partly paraphrasing this epigram when he wrote:

On this side you see the palaces, on that side the country ... if the monuments of the ancient Roman citizens should entice you, you examine from here the Janiculum, the temples across the river, ... the fora ... the Tarpeian rock ... the Palatine ... (11. 301-312).

Compare Martial's epigram:

On this side you may see the seven sovereign hills and take the measure of all Rome, the Alban hills and Tusculan too, ... on that side the traveller shows on the Flaminian or Salarian way ...<sup>36</sup>.

Or compare Blossius' description of the peaceful site on the Tiber, "Eternal peace resides in the place. Nor is the stream broken by oars, lest Sailors give noise, ..." (11. 282-283), with Martial's description of the

auratasne trabes an Mauros undique postes  
an picturata lucentia marmora vena  
mirer, ...

See 11. 47-57 for the remaining.

<sup>35</sup> This epigram is today associated with the Villa Lante on the Janiculum. However in 1512 it did not exist.

<sup>36</sup> Martial *Epigrams* IV. 64, the English translation is that of W.C.A. Kerr, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1919/20), p. 275.

villa secluded from noise, where the traveller's carriage, "... makes no sound, that wheels should not disturb the soothing sleep which neither boatswains call nor bargeman's shout is loud enough to break ..." <sup>37</sup>

Martial's picture of villa life, a serene overview of the marketplace, gives Blossius a classical precedent and excuse for dwelling at length on an overview of the ancient Roman ruins which can be viewed from Chigi's estates. This was a topic dear to his patron, and to the members of the Roman Academy.

At this point one might reasonably ask, when there is such dependence on literary tradition, whether the poet was at all inspired by his actual subject. The issue here is complicated by the fact that, to some degree, that subject may also have been shaped by the literary tradition. For example, both Vopiscus and Chigi were reputedly Epicureans <sup>38</sup>. Both houses were the home of winged loves <sup>39</sup>. Each patron had dwellings on the opposite banks of his respective river <sup>40</sup>, each at a point where the river was narrowed and quiet, with turbulence above and below. Both villas had the requisite coolness in summer. Saunas were located at both. Both main buildings had projecting two-story wings, and a central court <sup>41</sup>. Both displayed famous works of ancient art, rich marbles, hand-carved beams, patterned floors. Both houses were famed for banquets.

It would seem possible, perhaps probable, that Chigi had identified himself with the ancient Vopiscus at a time when his villa was only in its planning stage. If that is the case, then the attention which Blossius drew to Statius and his *Silva* was not solely the dependence of a poet on a literary tradition. He may have been deliberately advertising the particular aspirations and identification of his patron.

Agostino Chigi's vision may also have been focused by Martial's

<sup>37</sup> Ibid., pp. 275, 277.

<sup>38</sup> Statius *Silvae*, Loeb Classical Library (London, 1928), p. 39. For Chigi's Epicurean connections see n. 33 above.

<sup>39</sup> Statius *Silva* I.iii. 10-12, where Venus bids her winged sons to live forever in Vopiscus' home. Chigi was a notorious womanizer, and the villa Entrance Loggia was frescoed with the story of Cupid and Psyche. Cupid is accompanied by a score of permanent Loves in the ceiling frescoes.

<sup>40</sup> Statius *Silva* I.iii. 24-26. Chigi's other home was across the Tiber in the quarter known as the Banchi.

<sup>41</sup> Statius *Silva* I.iii. 57-59. Chigi's home appears externally to be divided into 2 monumental stories. Inside some parts of the home have 4 stories. The main architectural model for Chigi's Roman villa was the Sienese Chigi villa, known as the Villa Le Volte. For a general description of the Villa see Elsa Gerlini, *Villa Farnesina alla Lungara, Roma* (Rome 1988).

epigram. Chigi seems to have had his private apartments in the north-east corner of the *piano nobile*<sup>42</sup>. From these there was access to the rooftop loggia, from which one could survey the antiquities and the vineyards, the city and the country. The lordly overview of a distant bustle, suggested by Martial, was here possible. Blossius, in his imitation of these poems, may have been seeking in part to reinforce in his listeners one more aspect of this Renaissance villa's antique-ness, that it emulated the great classical villas of the past. Chigi's friends, Pietro Bembo, Bernardo Bibbiena, Philippus Beroaldus the Younger, and so many more, could not have missed the comparisons.

However the antique models were brief. Length, and newsy detail were more typically Renaissance<sup>43</sup>. This is apparent at the outset when Blossius gives us the precise geographic location of the villa. It is in Trastevere, at the foot of the Janiculum, near the Porta Septimiana, limited on one side by the Tiber, and on the other by the road leading to the Vatican. These directions would satisfy a Roman cabdriver. In praising the paintings, Blossius gives us the exact subjects of frescoes: Juno carried aloft by peacocks, Venus standing on her seashell under the constellations, Boreas raping Orithyia, the daughters of Cecrops peeping into the basket<sup>44</sup>. In describing the loggias he gives us their orientations to north and east, to cool breezes and warm sun, and indicates that citrus groves were to perfume each. In exclaiming over the marbles, he tells us that Agostino was reusing classical pieces from the excavations in progress. The double cellars with their storage provisions are discussed at length. We have the suggestion of a guest list at the banquets — the Pope and foreign ambassadors. The formal gardens, the specific types of trees in the orchards, Chigi's interest in

<sup>42</sup> The function of rooms is inferred from inventories made a few years after Chigi's death. These were published by G. Cugnoni, "Agostino Chigi il Magnifico", *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, 6: 497-506, and by C. Frommel, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis Architektonisches Frühwerk* (Berlin, 1961), pp. 46-53. Frommel interprets these. It is not certain that the *altana* was part of the original plan, but it dates from Chigi's lifetime, *ibid.*, pp. 41-43.

<sup>43</sup> J. Sparrow, "Latin Verse in the High Renaissance", *Italian Renaissance Studies*, ed. E.F. Jacob (London, 1960), p. 361, comments upon the prolixity. Not everyone had a taste for length. Francesco Maria della Rovere, in Rome in 1510 to celebrate his union with Eleonora Gonzaga, walked out of two evenings of entertainment, one of them at Chigi's. F. Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento: Roma 1450-1550* (Rome, 1983), p. 343. Blossio, in his introductory letter, offers Chigi an axe with his *silva*.

<sup>44</sup> All of these frescoes are in the eastern Garden Loggia.



plant hybridization<sup>45</sup>, the grotto and cave with bathing and boating pond<sup>46</sup>, the Tiber and the granaries on the Tiber Island<sup>47</sup>, the uses of the bridges, the heroes of Trastevere, the neighbors (the Riario and the Farnese), the antiquities which can be seen (even the name of Chigi's secretary Cornelius, who could be sought for further information on these), a brief history of the fall of Rome, a touch of river geography, the reasons for Chigi's construction, as well as his occupation and family lineage, these and much more find their way into Blossius' encyclopedic verse. The marvel is, and probably was, that he did all this in elegant dactylic hexameter, with the appearance of spontaneity.

The length is typical of a Renaissance taste. But it also gives us some information on Renaissance values and priorities. A modern poet would probably concentrate on the paintings by Raphael, and the architecture of Peruzzi. None of the poets writing on this villa do that. Instead Blossius<sup>48</sup> devotes the weight of his piece to the history of the site, to the Tiber, and to the gardens. Even the banqueting facilities get more lines than the architecture or paintings per se. One might wish to argue that in 1512 Blossius could only describe what was finished. However the gardens, as Blossius states in his introductory letter, were merely adumbrated, while Peruzzi's palace was completed. It seems more likely that Blossius sang for his audience what they wished to hear, and what they wished to have recorded.

The key to these emphases probably is found in Chigi's desire to create the true descendant of an antique villa. This necessitated a concern for spiritual aspects of the building, which are not widely shared today. It is the kind of thinking that would result in a correct astrological foundation, a line of poetry set above a portal, and the like<sup>49</sup>. The history of the site, the Tiber, and the gardens are all connected to these Renaissance priorities.

<sup>45</sup> See Cugnoni, op. cit. n. 42 above, 6: 150.

<sup>46</sup> The constant flooding ruined these fairly early, but vestiges can be seen in 16th century drawings and maps. See those of S. Peruzzi (1563-64) and E. Dupérac (1577). See Plate 7, p. 156.

<sup>47</sup> C. D'Onofrio, *Il Tevere: L'isola Tiberina, le inondazioni, i molini, i porti, le rive, i muraglioni, i ponti di Roma* (Rome, 1980), pp. 36, 37, 43; I assume Blossius is referring to the milling activity on the Tiber Island, 11. 287-288.

<sup>48</sup> The same stresses on the antique context and antique heroes, the gardens and the waters are found in A. Gallus' poem of 1511. However the waters there are the more general world's oceans, rivers and streams. The Tiber is one among many. This is probably due to the fact that Gallus connects Chigi, with his merchant fleet of over 100 ships, to Neptune, Lord of the Sea.

<sup>49</sup> For Chigi's interest in astrology and the probable foundation date see M. Quinlan-McGrath, "A Proposal for the Foundation Date of the Villa Farnesina", *Journal of the*

The ancient pedigree of the site becomes important, for it gives the villa a spiritual connection to ancient Rome. The villa is surrounded by antique sites, and was built on top of ancient ruins. Blossius invokes Horatius Cocles, Cincinnatus, Mucius Scaevola, and Porsena, as the predecessors who made this soil famous. Then he catalogues the ancient splendors which can be surveyed from the estates. Ancient ruins were exposed in digging the villa's substructure, and antique marbles were gathered and reused in its construction. When both poets speak of Chigi's longing to recapture the antique past in establishing his suburban home, they were not repeating a meaningless cliché. The villa drew a spiritual heritage up through its "bones." Vasari later repeated the same idea when he wrote that Chigi's villa was not so much built, as born, from the soil<sup>50</sup>.

The picture of the Tiber is also highly romantic, and Blossius gives great attention to it. But the Tiber was of paramount importance to the estates. Some of this importance was due to practical considerations, some to the river's antique status. Drinking water, irrigation for the gardens, a charming source of water sports, all these were provided by the river<sup>51</sup>. But Blossius dwells at length on a spiritual side to the waterway. Like the ruins, the Tiber ties past to present. In the longest passage of the whole piece (ll. 322-408), the river becomes an ancient witness, which tells of Rome's fall and its rebirth in this new wonder. The historic continuity of Rome is caught in the image of the river's perpetual flow. For Blossius, it reflected time's passage and testified to Rome's history. The sense of a sacred geography and continuous history were very important to this patron and the poets. Even today, it is a part of Rome that one feels, visiting the ruins, standing along the Tiber.

*Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 49 (1986), 245-250. The later Villa Lante (begun ca. 1518) on the Janiculum has a slight variation of Martial's epigram set above the portal of the loggia, "Hinc Totam Licet Aestimare Romam." Humanist gardens typically had inscriptions which set the tone of the garden.

<sup>50</sup> G. Vasari, *Le vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori ed architettori*, 9 vols., ed. G. Milanesi (Florence, 1878-85), 4:593, "... non murato, ma veramente nato." This compliment captured the aspirations of many Renaissance patrons.

<sup>51</sup> Populations depended on a bountiful water supply, and typically cities had their centers along a river. The Tiber's water was actually thought particularly salubrious, D'Onofrio, *op. cit.* n. 47 above, pp. 77-79. In addition, Chigi had substantial irrigation needs, see contracts published by Cugnoni, *op. cit.* n. 42 above, 3: 214. The spectacular garden fountains also drew water from it. Both Gallus and Palladius proclaim the delights of the water sports made possible by the river.

The gardens also occupy a tremendous amount of space in the poem. Their allure can only be appreciated against the background of the narrow, filthy, and irregular streets, and constrained courtyards of Renaissance Rome<sup>52</sup>. In addition to their natural beauty, gardens were highly prized in ancient Rome, and thus we find the many allusions to the gardens of the Hesperides, of Epicurus, of Pliny, and so on. Their use for philosophical and literary gatherings was also of particular interest to these friends<sup>53</sup>.

Therefore, while we learn little of Peruzzi or Raphael from Blosius, we gain a sense of Renaissance interests. Finally, with so much that is borrowed, and with the demands of specific reportage, we may also question whether there is much emotional investment by the poet in his subject. The relentlessly exclamatory tone of the beginning, the number of times Blosius protests his confusion and his lack of certainty as to how he should proceed, perhaps may suggest that the feeling as not entirely fresh. We may even wonder if he, wag that he was, wasn't slightly amused as he repeated his confusion; or as he slid into the coolness of the vast cellars, wishing to compose sweet sleeps, only to be dragged out into the gardens to compose more verse (ll. 168-171). Yet it is particularly where he has left Statius that his elegant lines convey a majesty, as he imagines going through the gardens, delighting in their beauty, science, and hidden playgrounds; as he discusses the geography of Rome, its history, its ruins; as he lets the great river reminisce on its ancient glory and destruction, and its new light-hearted joy; and as first he lets the Tiber praise, and then he himself praises, the patron who has seen beyond the rude flood plain of Trastevere, and has created a golden dream.

The Newberry Library  
Chicago, U.S.A.

<sup>52</sup> P. Partner, *Renaissance Rome: 1500-1559* (Berkeley, 1976), pp. 165-166, describes street ordinances.

<sup>53</sup> Chigi's gardens were one of the spots, like those of Colocci, Goritz, and later of Blosius, where the literati gathered. Gallus particularly emphasized this in Book 5, ll. 147-150, 187-197. Blosius seems to have had, like Chigi, a genuine interest in agriculture, see Borgia, op. cit. n. 4 above, pp. 187-188, as always, following ancient precedent.

## Editor's and translator's note

The original punctuation uses five marks:

- a slanting stroke (/), similar in meaning to a modern comma (,);
- a colon (:), which is a longer pause;
- a full stop (.);
- an interrogation mark (?); and
- an exclamation point (!).

The slanting stroke also serves occasionally as a hyphen, and as a means of setting off the one letter words “a” and “e” from those words around them.

Except where a typographical error is probable, and which will be reported in the apparatus, the original punctuation has been retained in the Latin. However, the slanting stroke has been consistently printed as a comma in the text, or as a hyphen in the rare cases where that is appropriate. It has been eliminated before and after “a” and “e”.

In the translation, the punctuation has been modernized to some degree, but it follows the original as closely as possible. The colon is usually given as a comma or semicolon; occasionally it has been left as a colon.

The original capitalization is retained in the Latin, and in the translation.

The original inconsistent spelling is retained in the Latin, but that

- $\epsilon$  has been expanded into  $\alpha$
- all abbreviations and suspensions have been expanded.

The rare but obvious misprints have been corrected, and the changes reported in the apparatus. R indicates the original 1512 Roman edition (copy in the Vatican), B the British Library copy of it (see footnote 1 above).

## THE SUBURBAN VILLA OF AGOSTINO CHIGI

by BLOSIUS PALLADIUS

### 1.

#### BAPTISTA CASALIUS

The son of Agenor is said to have been the first to have established Thebes, Amphion is the second; the former did it by sowing, the latter by the lyre<sup>1</sup>. The walls of Cadmus had fallen into ruin, the second made by the lyre, remain; the lyre gives memory to things.

- 5 If things that have been overwhelmed emerge, the things being born increase by song; the villa of Chigi will be greater by the measures of Blossius.

### 2.

#### THREE PART ODE OF PHILIPPUS BEROALDUS THE YOUNGER TO AUGUSTINO CHIGI

While you lead Us about through the rooms of the Villa, good Chigi, and while you are going through the gardens, an hour passes; and hunger shakes our insides.

- 5 Do not think that you feed my stomach with a noble painting; come, let us marvel at the remaining having drunk well; everything pleases me when I am satisfied.

Then indeed let Blossius sing his songs, by

- 10 which the honor of your villa grows; and may the villa more clearly show your name to posterity.

### 3.

#### FAUSTO CAPODIFERRO

Janus seeing the eternal palace of Chigi said, "Why did the Gods not give me more eyes?" And the Tiber hearing the poems of Blossius which are destined to live, declares: "I will sooner run dry than your Muse."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ovid., *Met.* III 99-130; Horace, A.P., 394-396, etc.

SUBURBANUM A<U>GUSTINI CHISII PER  
BLOSIUM PALLADIUM

1.

BAPTISTA CASALIUS.

- Primus Agenorides Thebas posuisse, secundus  
Dicitur Amphion: ille satu, iste lyra.  
Moenia conciderant Cadmaea, secunda supersunt  
Facta lyra: rebus dat monumenta chelys.  
5 Obruta si emergunt, nascentia carmine crescunt:  
Maior erit Blosii Chisia villa modis.

2.

PHILIPPUS BEROALDI IUNIORIS ODE TRI-  
COLOS AD AUGUSTINUM CHISSIUM.

- Dum tu circumagis Nos bone Chissie  
Per coenacula Villae, et viridaria  
Perlustras, abit hora: et  
Intestina quatit fames:  
5 Ne te crede meum pascere nobili  
Pictura stomachum: Quod reliqui est, age  
Miremur bene poti,  
Nil non me saturum iuvat:  
Tunc sane et Blosius carmina, queis tuae  
10 Villae crescit honos, concinat: ac tuum  
Nomen posteritati  
Villa clarius indicet.

3.

FAUSTUS CAPIFERREUS.

Ianus ait spectans aeterna palatia Chisi,  
Cur mihi non dederunt lumina plura Dei?  
Excipiensque Tybris victura poemata Blosi,  
Ante ego deficiam, quam tua Musa, refert.

## 4.

## MARCUS ANTONIUS CASANOVA

- Who excells, Zeuxis? or Blossius? Each is to me a painter, each is excellent in my Judgment. But the works of the one are mute, those of Blossius speak. This picture nourishes minds, that nourishes the eyes;
- 5 this one creates again, the other is the imitation of things; this one gives birth to everlasting things, what that one produces, perishes. That clings to the walls unknown to the outside, the Muse goes through the whole world, and through all the Schools. The
- 10 poet depicts so well with his Roman pen, that this one is able to do, all that no hand can.

## 5.

## PETRUS CURSIUS CARPINETANUS

- This your Wood, Blossius, seems not written but sown; while fixed, I admire each and every thing and I am amazed. It flourishes by the leaf, it pleases by the flower, it is all golden by the fruit. It is rich by the eloquence of the Tiber, by the waters of the
- 5 Tiber. Nowhere is the honor of the country greater, nor is the charm greater; so that I think Spring lives rightly in these gardens. Nor do marbles rise up better, or more brightly anywhere; I see here that the picture lives, the mute things speak. Chigi and
- 10 Blossius, you each erected an outstanding villa, but each is not of an equal fate. However golden be yours, Chigi, it is subject to the ages; but the wood planted by Blossius, will be eternal.

## 6.

## SAVOIA

That one, my Soldier, built up this wood by such beautiful song, that I weep from excessive joy. This wood/poem has streams, fountains, orchards and shadows; it is green by the leaf, empurpled by the

## 4.

## MARCUS ANTONIUS CASANOVA.

- Quis praestat, Zeusis ne? an Blossius? est mihi uterque  
 Pictor: uterque meo Iudicio eximius.  
 At sunt muta opera alterius: Blossi ista loquuntur.  
 Pictura haec mentes pascit: at illa oculos:  
 5 Haec iterum generat: simulatrix altera rerum est:  
 Haec aetherna parit: Quod parit illa, perit.  
 Illa haeret muris externo incognita: Musa it  
 Per totum orbem, perque omnia Gimnasia.  
 Tam bene Romana depingit harundine vates:  
 10 Ut queat hic, quicquid non queat ulla manus.

## 5.

## PETRUS CURSIUS CARPINETANUS.

- Haec tua Sylva Blossi non scripta, at consita visa est:  
 Dum fixus miror singula, et obstuqueo.  
 Fronde viret, flore arridet, tota aurea fructu est.  
 Tybridis eloquio, Tybridis uber aquis.  
 5 Nusquam ruris honos maior, nec gratia maior:  
 Ut merito his hortis Ver habitare putem.  
 Marmora nec surgunt melius, nec clarius usquam:  
 Picturam heic video vivere, muta loqui.  
 Chisius et Blossi villam erexistis, uterque  
 10 Egregiam: sed non utraque sorte pari est.  
 Aurea sit quamvis tua Chisi, obnoxia seclis:  
 Quae sata per Blossium sylva, peremnis erit.

## 6.

## SAVOIA.

Iste meus Miles, quam pulchro carmine sylvam  
 Condidit: e nimia ploro ego laetitia.  
 Sylva habet haec fluvios, fontes, pomaria, et umbras:  
 Fronde viret: pomis purpurat: humet aquis.

1 Mile-, illegible, must be 'Miles'. Il Savoia was Captain of a troop of Savoyards; see Gnoli, *op. cit.*, n. 10 above, p. 429



- 5 fruit, moistened by the waters. How good is that  
 which alone brings streams, fountains, fruits and  
 shadows; at the same time how similar it is to these  
 which it brings. This flourishes as leaves, reddens  
 just as fruit, shines as a fountain, just as the rich  
 stream it abounds with waters. Oh, good poem, which  
 as a stream, as a fountain, as fruit, as shadows, lo!  
 10 flows, murmurs, grows red, and grows green.

## 7.

## ANTONIUS LAELIUS

- After Rome collapsed in barbaric ruins, the Albula<sup>2</sup>  
 always rolled with sorrowful waters. But after Chigi  
 erected the height of his lofty Villa, the Albula  
 also raised his head happily from the river. Yet  
 5 after the other wood was sown by the talent of  
 Blossius, then the Tiber began to run with golden  
 waters. Indeed rightly so. For others are sterile,  
 this one is golden with fruits; the others are sown  
 with thorn bushes, but this one is planted with roses.  
 Finally others have held wild animals, this is full of  
 10 the gods; the Tiber rightly loves these, the gods, the  
 fruits, the roses.

TO AGOSTINO CHIGI DELLA ROVERE PATRICIAN OF SIENA  
 BLOSIUS PALLADIUS ROMANUS.

- When I had come to know your suburban villa, Agostino, first through  
 reputation, and then by sight, which all justly admire, and of which  
 some had even sung in golden songs; I was not able (as that character  
 of Plautus<sup>3</sup>) to refrain from speaking out, or to prove by something my  
 5 affection toward you, which had been elicited by your affection toward  
 my country, which you had so greatly ornamented. Therefore I poured  
 out this poem in quick heat; would that the gods might make it as  
 shady and green as your trees deserve, to which this whole poem is  
 devoted. But as generally happens in great endeavors, I felt that I

<sup>2</sup> An old name of the Tiber.

<sup>3</sup> Plaut., *Men.* 253 (II ii 28): nequeo contineri quin loquar.

- 5 Quam bona, quae fluvios, fontes, pomaria, et umbras:  
 Una gerit: simul his, que gerit, ut similis.  
 Haec viret ut frondes: rutilat ceu poma: nitescit  
 Ut fons: ceu fluvius uber abundat aquis.  
 O, bona, quae ut fluvius: quae ut fons: quae ut poma: quae ut umbrae:  
 10 Affluit: increpitat: pro rubet: atque viret.

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10 prorubet RB.

## 7.

## ANTONIUS LAELIUS.

- Barbaricis postquam labefacta est Roma ruinis:  
 Semper luctificas Albula voluit aquas.  
 Erexit Chisius summae ut fastigia Villae:  
 Ille quoque erexit laetus ab amne caput.  
 5 At Blossii ingenio postquam altera consita sylva est:  
 Tum Tybris auriferis currere coepit aquis.  
 Iure quidem. nam aliae steriles, haec aurea pomis:  
 Sunt aliae dumis obsitae, at ista rosis.  
 Demum aliae tenuere feras: haec plena deorum est:  
 10 Iure amat hec Tybris, numina: poma: rosas.

AUGUSTINO CHISIO RUERAE PATRICIO SENEN(SI)  
BLOSIUS PALLADIUS ROMANUS.

- Suburbanum tuum (Augustine) quod omnes merito admirantur, non-  
 nulli etiam poematis aureis decantarunt, quum antea phama, inde  
 oculis agnovissem: non potui (ut Plautinus ille) contineri quin loquerer,  
 et meum erga te affectum ex tuo in meam patriam quam tantopere  
 5 exornasses affectu concitatum, non re aliqua testari. Effudi igitur subito  
 calore hanc sylvam, dii facerent tam opacam virentemque, quam tuae  
 arbores, quarum haec tota est, merentur. Sed ut in magnis plerumque  
 accidit, sensi me id potius quod potui, quam quod volui, assecutum.  
 Neque enim tua villa a meis carminibus aequari potuit. neque ego non

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1 Suburbanum. R.

- attained that which I could, rather than that which I wanted. For neither was your villa able to be equalled by my songs; nor yet for that
- 10 reason did I not want to prove my love toward you. Therefore I dedicate this to you, to whom I myself now for a long time have been dedicated, in which I would prefer that you consider my intent rather than my strength, my affection, rather than my fluency. It is a wood, both all hastily built; and inferior to those ancient Papinian *Silvae* no less by finish, than by age. This has merited however one praise, if any,
- 15 namely that it is broad and ready for the cutting; and it preferred to be subject to the axes rather than to limits. I give therefore an axe with the wood, so that what you wish you may cut back, you may mow down the excess, prune the parts that are swollen, drive out the wild animals, purify it of its faults. And finally thus you may transform it to a refined thing, in such a way that it may be as similar as possible to those your adored *Silvae*, that is, very beautiful. But I would desire that you certainly not marvel at this; namely that I have sung of the majority of
- 20 things in the garden, such things as a fountain and orchards, now just begun and planned, as though they were finished. For I judged it to be of little import to consider in the place of things already made, what you had only conceived in your mind. And as I noticed the greatness and liberality of your spirit, I did not hesitate to weave into my songs, as though already existing, those future things which you had planned in your mind. However I fear lest I may have omitted many more of
- 25 these which were already standing, than I have gathered those things which are going to be. I wish both this and that to be testified in your presence, Agostino: that I am looking for no reward for these verses, nor if any were given (which you have done for others) would I accept. Both because I, who am bound to you officially, do not desire [to be bound] privately; and also because if I gain your love I gain sufficiency; and these verses have received sufficient reward, if they are received.
- 30 Farewell.

In Rome, the last day of January, 1512.

- 10 ideo meum erga te amorem testari volui. Dedo igitur hanc tibi, cui me  
ipsum iam pridem in qua malim, tu mentem quam vires, affectum,  
quam affluentiam consideres. Sylva est et tota temere congesta. et a  
priscis illis Papinianis non minus cultu, quam aetate inferior. unam  
haec tamen laudem, si ullam, promerita. quod lata est et cedua:  
15 seque securibus quam terminis maluit esse obnoxiam. Dedo igitur et  
cum sylva securim, ut que velis reseces, luxuriam metas, tumentia  
premas, feras abigas, vitiis expurges. demumque ita ad cultum transfe-  
ras: ut tuis illis adoratis Syluulis quam simillima sit, hoc est pulcher-  
20 rima. Illud vero ne admirari te quidem velim: quod in hortis pleraque,  
ut fontem et pomaria, iam inchoata et affecta, ceu effecta cecinerim.  
Parvi enim referre arbitratus sum pro iam factis habere: quae tu tantum  
mente concaepisses. atque ut ego tui animi magnitudinem liberalita-  
temque perspexi: non dubitavi carminibus intexere, ut iam extantia:  
25 quae tu animo destinasses futura. tametsi verear ne multo plura ex his  
quae iam starent, omiserim: quam futura collegerim. Simul hoc, simul  
illud apud te volo testatum Augustine: nihil me muneris pro his  
numeris aucupari. neque si dentur (quod in aliis fecisti) me accepturum:  
Tum quod qui publico tibi nomine astringor, nolo etiam privato. Tum  
quod amorem si lucrer, satis lucrer: satisque hi munerum recaepere, si  
30 recipiuntur. Vale. Romae pridie Calendis Februarii. MDXII.

THE SUBURBAN ESTATE OF AGOSTINO CHIGI  
DELLA ROVERE OF SIENA.

Whoever praised the orchard of the king of the Hellespont, and the gardens verdant with flowers of Alcinous, and the fruits safe by the ever-watchful Dragon, now let him be silent, and to the new give over  
5 the ancient honours. Behold the high ornament of Italy, Agostino, raised the delightful gardens, of such a kind that no age of man has ever produced.

From whence shall I sing? where wander? at which end shall I rest? Phoebus advise me; or rather you, Papinius, who are the author of this poem and of the *Silvae*. For phoebus could not sing as well as you, and  
10 you surpass one hundred Virgils by this praiseworthy thing. You who ornamented the Villas of the ancients with precious song, give me at least a little nectar from your urn, throw open the way for me, and pour strength into my song, nor let my poem tremble or run dry.

15 The Septimian region of the site is beyond and across the Tiber, under the hill of Janus; and by this name also the Gate<sup>4</sup> carries one along the banks of the Tiber toward the Vatican; here the splendid work rises up; hither all Rome flows to look; hither Youths, and  
20 children, and elders rush, as formerly they did at Troy, while the contrivance approached the Ilian walls. One marvels at the ornament of the country, another wonders at the rich decoration of the walls. This one marvels at the skill, that one at the genius, and location, of the spot: girt about here by the Tiber, there by Janus, enclosed everywhere  
25 by rome; the Tiber detains this; the road that one. Now one is delighted to see the gardens; now the cave gently adjacent to the gardens; the cave suitable for a Bathing-pool, and cool swimming. This one points out the speedy works of artisans to those who are assembling; they deny that it was possible to be made. Another wanders here  
30 and there; nor does he bring back satiated eyes after the lengthy looking. Now they go away in different directions, and they return to the palaces and gardens. Later they come together ready to praise it.

<sup>4</sup> This Gate still exists today. See G. Torselli, *Trastevere* (Rome 1981), p. 17 and p. 20.

## SUBURBANUM AUGUSTINI CHISII, RVERAE, SENENSIS.

- HELLESPONTiaci Quisquis pomaria regis:  
 Quisquis et Alcinoi viridantes floribus hortos:  
 Tutaque pervigili laudavit poma Dracone:  
 Iam sileat, priscosque novis addicat honores.
- 5 Ecce altum Italiae decus Augustinus amoenos  
 Quales nulla etas hominum tulit, extruit hortos.  
 Unde canam? Qua parte vager? Quo fine residam?  
 Phoebe mone. seu tu potius, qui carminis huius  
 Silvarumque Papini autor. nam nec tibi phoebus
- 10 Par sonet, et centum prestas hac laude Marones.  
 Tu minimum deprome tua mihi nectar ab urna:  
 Qui veterum ornasti precioso carmine Villas:  
 Tu mihi pande vias, viresque in carmina funde:  
 Nec patiare meam tremere aut arescere silvam.
- 15 Est ultra, supraque Tybrim, sub vertice Iani,  
 Septimiana loci regio: Quo et nomine Porta  
 In vaticanum per littora Tybridis effert:  
 Heic nitidum consurgit opus: huc adfluit omnis  
 Spectatum Roma: huc Iuvenes, puerique, senesque:
- 20 Ut Quondam Iliacos subiit dum machina muros,  
 Ad Troiam fecere, ruunt. stupet ille decorem  
 Ruris: hic a cultu murorum divite pendet.  
 Hic artem stupet: ille loci geniumque, situmque:  
 Hinc Tybri, hinc Iano septum, septum undique roma.
- 25 Detinet hunc Tybris: illum via. nunc iuvat hortos  
 Visere: nunc hortis subiectum molliter antrum.  
 Antrum Piscinae, gelidisque natatibus aptum.  
 Hic celeres fabrorum operas coeuntibus effert:  
 Hi fieri potuisse negant. Ille itque, reditque:
- 30 Nec saciata refert post longos lumina visus.  
 Nunc diversi abeunt, repetuntque palatia et hortos.  
 Mox laudaturi coeunt. stupet ipse tumultus

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Titulus: RVERAE R; RVVAERAE B 1. HELLESPONTiaci R EL-  
 LESPONTIaci B 8. carminis R Carminis B 15. Tybrim R Ti-  
 brim B 17. Tybridis R Tibridis B 19. Iuvenes R Invenes B 21.  
 Troiam R troiam B 24. romas. RB

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19-21: Cf. Verg., *Aen.* II 237-239: Scandit fatalis machina muros / feta armis.  
 Pueri circum innuptaeque puellae sacra canunt ...

The Tiber itself marvels at the noisy crowds, and new murmurs shake both its banks. And while I alone from the crowd (I confess), had  
35 rambled through every side of the country, long stupefied and spell-bound I brooded upon it till the end of the day, nor turned I my eyes away; and I carried my wearied vision over all the new amazements. Oh ye gods above, what a country it was, what estates I saw, what joys I  
40 drained! Never did fate grant any day more felicitously to me. Now the villa of Vopiscus is forgotten, and the craggy palaces of gentle Pollius. If that illustrious poet had found these wonders too, they might also have been a work of his, perhaps he would even have preferred these to  
45 those. I will speak boldly, and my age will not lead me astray; here are the hand and skills of the ancients. Nor let the ancient age either swell because of its craftsmen, or now praise itself because of Apelles. For as to the things that gleam through the porticoes, and through all the rooms; the exceptional painter is thought either to have painted living things, or to have animated painted figures; for he gave nearly speaking  
50 and breathing colors, though nature stood in his way. But if the desire of creating should come anew to Prometheus, he would be able more gently to animate these figures with flames; neither would he merit punishment for such a beautiful gift; nor if he bore a thousand punishments, would he refuse them because of such a beautiful gift.  
55 And Pygmalion would prefer these to his ivory bride. You also, Narcissus, would be destined to err less (for you were not more beautiful than these), and you would prefer to waste away by gazing at these figures. Such great charm has been given to the spirits, such grace has been given to that pictured. Let the work of the ancients cede  
60 rightly: the Cnidian painting, and Rhodes, and the line which was drawn with great care. But having admired the work, now I desire that you marvel at that which lies hidden under it, and the story which is weighted with a hidden sense. Here Juno is born aloft as though by real Peacocks; Venus stands out here, risen from the sea, and is carried on  
65 her shell up under the stars. Here wild Boreas carries off raped Orithyia. Here the Athenian sisters unseal the secrets. Then these whom the verses of Ovid painted, the painter repainted, and he equalled in skill the Ovidian colors. So fortunate the painter is by the poet, as the

- Tybris: et alternas quatiunt nova murmura ripas.  
 Unus ego e turba (fateor) dum per latum omne  
 35 Ruris oberrassem, longum defixus et amens  
 Incubui extremam ad lucem, nec lumina torsi:  
 Lassatosque tuli nova per miracula visus.  
 Dii superi rus quale fuit, que praedia vidi:  
 Gaudia que exhausti! nunquam foelicius ullum  
 40 Indulsit mihi parca diem. Iam villa Vopisci  
 Excidit, et placidi scopulosa palatia Polli.  
 Haec quoque si vates nactus foret ille: fuissent  
 Illius haec et opus: fors praeposuisset et illis.  
 Eloquar audacter: nec me mea secula fallent:  
 45 Hic artes veterumque manus. nec prisca vetustas  
 Aut tumeat fabris: aut iam sibi plaudat Apelle.  
 Nam que porticibus, et cuncta per atria fulgent:  
 Aut vivas pinxisse, aut pictas animasse figuras  
 Creditur eximius pictor: Qui pene loquentes  
 50 Spirantesque dedit natura obstante colores.  
 Quod nova si subeat formandi cura Prometheum,  
 Mollius has possit flammis animare figuras:  
 Nec mereat penas tam pulchro ex munere: nec si  
 Mille ferat, renuat tam pulchro ex munere penas.  
 55 Has et Pygmalion nuptae praeferret eburnae.  
 His Narcisse etiam (neque enim tu pulchrior istis)  
 Errature minus, malles tabere figuris.  
 Tantus honos succis: talis data gratia picto est.  
 Cedat opus merito veterum: Cnydiaeque tabellae,  
 60 Et Rhodus, et multa que ducta est linea cura.  
 At miratus opus, volo iam mirere, sub illo  
 Quod latet, et tecto premitur que fabula sensu.  
 Heic Iuno ut veris vehitur Pavonibus: Extat  
 Heic Venus orta mari, et concha sub sydera fertur.  
 65 Heic Boreas raptam ferus avehit Orithyiam.  
 Heic Pandioniae reserant arcana sorores.  
 Denique quas Ovidi versus pinxere, repinxit  
 Pictor, et aequavit Pelignos arte colores.  
 Tam foelix pictor vate, ut pictore Poeta.



70 Poet by the painter. If you had ornamented your proud warp with  
these, Arachne, perhaps even by these you would have conquered the  
refined Pallas, and certainly you would have equalled her; nor would  
you now deform all by your web. Now I am summoned to other  
cultivated things. At the first entrance stands the loggia towards  
Boreas [= the North]; behind that the other loggia faces Eurus [= the  
75 East]. On the one side the country is wholesome by wind, and on the  
other by fire, such that the sun purges it of shadows, and Boreas dries it  
when damp. Furthermore the northern one will provide coolness in the  
summer, and after that the other loggia will heat you when you are  
stiff with cold. Each is suitable to median temperatures, and each shines  
80 turned toward the gardens; and each sprinkles the pleasant beauty of  
the foliage before your eyes; and offers to the nose the breathing citrus  
trees. None of the walls lie open to the potentially harmful south wind;  
although the south winds, broken as by so many mountains, scarcely  
arrive at this place. If any force has brought them in by any oblique  
85 winding, then they have fallen by the blockage of walls and closed  
windows. Therefore it would be pleasing to wander here and there in  
these porticoes, contemplating, protected from the harmful blast. And  
yet from the first porticoes the rooms unfold themselves, the first rooms  
90 from here, the others stand over these in another row; around these  
stand small painted rooms in more than one style. Oh, what shall I  
marvel at here first? Shall I admire the coffered ceiling? Or shall I sing  
of the floors clinging to painted beams? Or should I admire the  
Daedalian hand in all the wood? Or should I marvel at the excellently  
95 painted brick, and spread with gleaming design beneath the feet?  
Should I sing of the frames of doors and windows made from parian  
marble? And should I hasten to praise to the sky as they deserve, the  
beings carved by the chisel? A golden brightness shines in these; a silver  
in those; these stand by the one adornment, those by the other; but all  
100 stand with beautiful refinement. I am carried to this, and back to that;  
now each portico holds me captive, now it is bliss to climb to the upper  
parts; now to glide again from the upper rooms and return lower; now  
it pleases again to go heavenward, and to be born back above; now to  
draw the keen glance through the ranks of doors stretched out in a long

- 70 His tu exornasses tumidum si stamen Arachne:  
 Forsan et his cultam vicisses Pallada, certe  
 Aequasses: nec nunc turpares omnia taelis.  
 Nunc alios vocor in cultus. stat limine primo  
 Porticus ad Boream: retro altera vergit in Euros.
- 75 Inde anima, hinc igni sunt rura salubria, Que sol  
 Expurget tenebris, Boreas humentia siccet.  
 Quid quod et algorem tribuet borealis in aestu,  
 Altera calfaciet te porticus inde rigentem.  
 Temporibus mediis apta utraque, et utraque in hortos
- 80 Versa nitet: gratumque oculis respergit honorem  
 Herbarum: et citros spirantes naribus offert.  
 Nulla patent austris nocituris moenia: quamquam  
 Huc vix perveniant fracti tot montibus austri.  
 Si qua tamen flexu obliquo vis intulit illos:
- 85 Obiice murorum, et clusis cecidere fenestris.  
 His igitur passim libeat, passimque vagari  
 Porticibus, nocuo spectantes flamine tectos.  
 Ast e porticibus primis sese atria pandunt  
 Prima de hinc alio super his stant altera versu:
- 90 Hec circum haud uno stant picta cubilia cultu.  
 O, ego quid primum heic stupeam? laquearia mirer?  
 An tabulata canam pictis haerentia tignis?  
 Dedaleamve manum ligno demirer in omni?  
 An pictum egregie laterem, nitidaque figura
- 95 Substratum pedibus? pario ne e marmore postes  
 Portarumque fenestrarumque canam? utque merentur  
 Insculptos celo properem sustollere coelo?  
 Aureus effulget nitor his: argenteus illis:  
 Haec uno, illa alio: at pulchro stant omnia cultu.
- 100 Huc feror, huc referor: modo me tenet utraque captum  
 Porticus, in superas amor est nunc scandere parteis:  
 Nunc iterum labi e superis, infraque reverti:  
 Nunc iuvat ad superos iterum, supraque referri.  
 Nunc ductare aciem porrecta per ordine longo

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82. nocituris R nocirturis B 85. fenestris B 92. tignis. RB  
 93. Dedaleam R Daedaleam B 99. Haec uno R Hec uno B  
 102. Nunc R Nnnc B 104. ductare R dutare B, *c supra lineam addita.*

- 105 row; and the rooms that beautifully mirror themselves; now the stairs  
bearing others above and below and inserted in the walls, and hidden  
by the wall. Oh, should I speak of you stones? and marbles scattered  
110 here and there and marble stairs, and the facing of marble? And should  
I sing of you, oh steam rooms, rolling forth subtle vapors and your-  
selves made of parian marble? But if now the commerce of a Barbarous  
race existed, hither Paros, hither the Numidians, and whoever had fame  
in marbles, hither all would drag the quarried rocks; and many a  
115 Column would stand in the porticoes, and the marble would be thick  
through all the rooms; the both citrus and cedar beams would breathe  
upon the ceilings; nor would the barbarian prefer that his mountains  
decrease by trees and rocks for any [other] place. So also, although no  
120 ships bring foreign marbles, we see these which you gather on all sides  
from far and wide, either dug up from the earth or broken from the  
ruins of the ancients. For this reason your praise is greater, because you  
set up rich country estates in a poor age; those things which decorate  
the Country, the cities also admire. But we have extolled the upper  
125 parts, just as if the lower were not going to have their praise. It is  
dreadful to have by-passed you lower and cultivated lares, who bear  
easily and smile at the sweet weight of such a villa. Twin cellars stand,  
having been dug out around and underneath, the one having been set  
into the foundations of the other, and rigid both by the solid strenght  
130 of their walls, and their thick compactness, foundations for the place,  
and ample props for the upper house. These would substitute for the  
sky-bearing shoulders of Atlas and of Hercules. Over these the sky  
could stand, and the mountains threatening the sky, struggling with  
135 their threefold peaks: Athos and Taurus and the cloud-bearing Appenines.  
Nor would that mass of Caesar's Amphitheater that is tottering, refuse

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135: Cf. Ovid., *Met.* II 217 + 226: *Ardet Athos Taurusque .../... et nubifer Apenninus.*

- 105 Agmina portarum: et sibi se reddentia pulchre  
 Atria. nunc alios infraque supraque ferentes  
 Insertosque gradus muris, et pariete tectos.  
 O, ego vos ne loquar lapides? disiectaque passim  
 Marmora, marmoreique gradus, de marmore crustae?
- 110 Vos ne hipocausta canam tenues voluentia fumos  
 Ipsa vel e pario constantia marmore? Quod si  
 Nunc quoque Barbaricae starent commercia gentis:  
 Huc Paros, huc Nomades, et queis data marmore phama est  
 Convulsas traherent rupes. hinc multa Columna
- 115 Staret porticibus: densumque per omnia marmor  
 Atria: Tum citriaeque trabes, caedroque recisae  
 Affluent cameris: neque mallet barbarus usquam  
 Arboribus saxisque suos decrescere montes.  
 Sic quoque Quum nullae vectent externa carinae,
- 120 Marmora conspiciamus late. quae tu undique cogis  
 Eruta seu terra, veterum seu fracta ruinis.  
 Hinc tua laus maior, quod ditia paupere in aevo  
 Rura locas: quae Rura colunt, mirantur et urbes.  
 At supera extulimus, tanquam non infera laudem
- 125 Sint habitura suam. Vos praeteriisse nephandum  
 Inferni cultique lares: Qui dulcia tantae  
 Et fertis facile et ridetis pondera villae.  
 Stant geminae effossae circum, subterque cavernae,  
 Altera in alterius positae radicibus: et vi
- 130 Murorum solida, et crassa compage rigentes:  
 Fundamenta loco, et domibus fulcra ampla supernis.  
 Hec et coeliferos Athlantis et Herculis armos  
 Sufficerent. super his coelum, coeloque minantes  
 Starent tergemino connixi vertice montes:
- 135 Staret Athos, Taurusque, et nubiger Apenninus.

105. *Ante et sibi deletum est nunc in B; item post pulchre, Atria; denique redentia correctum est d supra lineam addita.* 108. disiectaque R dissic-  
 taque B, et e supra lineam addita. 109. Marmora / marmoreique R Mar-  
 mora / Marmoreique B 113. *Post Huc B delevit pos et fortasse Paros in*  
*marginē adscripsit.* † marmoī phama e. R de marmore phama est B  
 114. Conulsas RB Columna R Coluna B 120. quae R que B  
 122. quod R qđ B 123. quae R que B 124. tanq̄ R tanq̄ B  
 126. tantae R tâtae B

to prop itself up by this mass. There is an equal grace to these strengths, and equal honor shines. And the lowest part of the house  
 140 would be little jealous of the upper. The cellars built thus by various arts shine forth on all sides, and they are prepared for various uses. Here there are the dry or humid places for preserving things, and you may count a hundred cells, structures for the food provision. Oh, what feasts, what caecuban wines the stewards will store away, what banquets and caecuban wines the servers will bring forth! Nevertheless  
 145 such pleasure has not been prepared by you for luxury, but rather it gleams, destined to cause praise; which your prodigious virtue would arouse, and would draw great kings into banquets. We know. And if you were not knowable/noble in any other way, you would have to be  
 150 well-known by this. And each stranger if he be noble, has now heard you inviting him to the noble banquet. You often invite the gods, and the Thunderer himself as banqueters into your dwellings. He, mighty, finds you worthy of his honorable majesty. Go now, careful antiquity, and bring forth your father of Pelops. That one was the fellow-banqueter of the gods; but for this one even the god is a guest; Tantalus was invited; this one invites. Now compare the gods; and place Jove himself with our jove. That one was both shameless and bad, and he gave the first thieves to his time; this one is good, and he routs the last  
 160 thieves in his principate. And with justice he rules the lands, and restrains the proud. I return now to your estates, Augustinus; nor does our lyre prefer to speak of the gods themselves. Come hither, and place me returned, under the same caves from which I had been led out. Yet  
 165 who in these caves would dread the hotter star of the sun, and the rage of the summer dogstar? Would not the Getan field cede to these grottoes through the summer<sup>5</sup>? Would not the thessalian Valley? Certainly the getan field, and the thessalian Valley would cede. Oh, how I prefer here to compose sweet sleeps, and to sentence whole  
 170 sunless days to rest; unless your field and the gardens fragrant with flowers would invite me. But your fields do invite, and the desire arises in me to go through the gardens. However I am in doubt as to where I

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154-156: Cf. Ovid., *Met.* VI 172-173: ... mihi Tantalus auctor / Cui licuit soli Superorum tangere mensas.

166: Cf. Juv. 5, 50: frigidior Geticis ... pruinis; Verg., *Georg.* II 469: frigida Tempe.

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<sup>5</sup> The Getan country became a symbol of the cold through Ovid's *Tristia*.

- Nec quae Caesarei moles labat Amphitheatri,  
Hac niti se mole neget. Par gratia tantis  
Roboribus: par lucet honos. minimumque supernae  
Invidet Ima domus. varias sic ducta per artes  
140 Antra micant late, variosque parantur ad usus.  
Heic loca servandis sicca aut humentia rebus:  
Et centum numeres penori structoria cellas.  
O, quales epulas condi, quae caecuba condent:  
Quas epulas proment, et qualia caecuba promi?  
145 Non tamen ad luxus tibi tanta parata voluptas  
Sed laudem factura nitet. quam prodiga virtus  
Excitet, et magnos trahat in convivia reges.  
Novimus. et si non alia tu nobilis esses:  
Hac multum noscendus eras. te quisque vocantem  
150 Ad lautas epulas modo nobilis advena sensit.  
Convivas tu sepe deos, ipsumque Tonantem  
In tua tecta vocas. Qui te dignatur honora  
Maiestate potens. I, nunc operosa vetustas:  
Et Pelopis genitorem effer. conviva deorum  
155 Is fuit: huic etiam deus est conviva: vocatur  
Tantalus: Iste vocat. confer modo numina: et ipsum  
Cum nostro iove pone Iovem. fuit ille procaxque  
Et malus: et primos dedit in sua tempora fures,  
Hic bonus, extremosque fugat se principe fures.  
160 Iustitiaque regit terras, frenatque superbos.  
Ad tua nunc referor rura Augustine: nec ipsos  
Dicere nostra deos mavult chelys. huc age, et iisdem  
Queis egressus eram reducem me siste sub antris.  
An quis in his antris metuat torrentius astrum  
165 Solis, et aestivi rabiem canis? anne per aestum  
His Geticus non cedat ager? non thessala Tempe?  
Certe ager his geticus, cedant et thessala Tempe.  
O, ego ut heic dulces malim componere somnos,  
Et solidos sine sole dies damnare quieti:  
170 Ni tua rura vocent, et odori floribus horti.  
Sed tua rura vocant, et amor subit ire per hortos.  
Qua tamen ingrediar, que ve exceptura vagantem

shall enter, or what goal will accept me, wandering, and I am pressed  
 by the long order of things. Be present ye nymphs of Tiber, and ye  
 175 Satyrs, with the Fauns wandering Gods of the country; lead out  
 endlessly the young Poet through the shady tracts of the garden. And  
 you, oh garden fountain, to whom the golden Tiber grudges the shining  
 waters, do appear; you shoot forth the soft water with fine murmurs,  
 180 and you make music in the watered garden. Let me sing your praises,  
 and you conclude the songs of your villa. What first? Shall I speak of  
 the paths? Shall I speak of the retreats? I am moved hither, here I am  
 held; now I am drawn this way, now that; out of my mind; and I  
 would desire to run over all with a single glance, but yet it is not  
 185 sufficient to scan one single thing with many glances. Now I admire the  
 appearance of the place, and the rich tracts of the gardens, and the  
 lawns set out through industrious cultivation; now I admire the Formal  
 gardens woven by various skills; and the grove happy with shadows,  
 190 and the scented fruits under the blessed trees; now the wooden trellises  
 in a long track, to which the grasses creep and over which the flowers  
 wander. Here I am borne, here stupefied I am carried back, like a  
 maenad roused from the Thracian mountaintop, and gallus<sup>6</sup> raging  
 from his Phrygian heights. Shall I speak of you, oh laurel covered  
 195 woods, from whence the head of the poet flowers, but deservedly? Or  
 you myrtle wood? You boxwood? Or you cypresses now of a better  
 fate? Shall I speak of you, oh fruits, sung of often by the poet  
 Pontanus<sup>7</sup>? And the grove of citruses? Or the orchards which are partly  
 200 golden, partly green, and shine by the double harvest? Alas the kings  
 which high antiquity brought forth were excessively stingy. Here no  
 dragons preserve the many fruits. They stationed vigilant Dragons in  
 their cheap gardens. Hercules and his triple-knotted club avenged these  
 deservedly; here there is no need of Hercules; for neither are there  
 monsters. You give to the many the fruits which Atlas had denied to the  
 20. ~~new. Let old~~ Epicurus, having deserted his garden, come, and Alcinous;

<sup>6</sup> Viz. a (raving) priest of Cybele in Phrygia. Cf. Ovid, *Fasti* IV 361-366.

<sup>7</sup> Johannes Jovianus Pontanus (Cerreto 1426 — Naples 1503); the first edition of his poem *De Hortis Hesperidum* appeared in Venice (Aldo Manuzio), August 1505, ff. 138<sup>r</sup>-159<sup>r</sup> of the collected poetic *Opera*. See also M. De Nichilo, "Lo sconosciuto apografo Avellinese del *De Hortis Hesperidum* di G. Pontano", *Filologia e Critica* 2 (Rome 1977), 217-246.

- Meta sit, addubito, et longo premor ordine rerum.  
 Adsitis nymphae Tyberinides: Et vaga ruris
- 175 Numina cum Faunis Satyri: tenerumque Poetam  
 Usque per umbrosos horti deducite tractus.  
 Tuque, o, cui nitidas flavus tibris invidet undas,  
 Fons hortensis ades. tenui qui murmure molles  
 Eiacularis aquas, riguoque interstrepis horto.
- 180 Vestra canam: vestrae vos claudite carmina villae.  
 Quid primum? dicam ne vias? dicam ne recessus?  
 Huc agor, heic teneor: nunc huc nunc distrahor illuc  
 Mentis inops: unoque velim decurrere visu  
 Omnia, nec multo satis est decurrere visu
- 185 Singula. nunc faciemque loci, tractusque beatos  
 Hortorum, et positas operosis cultibus herbas:  
 Nunc varias miror Topiaria texta per artes.  
 Umbrarumque nemus foelix, et odora beatis  
 Poma sub arboribus. nunc longo retia tractu
- 190 Lignea: quis herbae serpunt floresque pererrant.  
 Huc feror, huc amens referor, ceu concita moenas  
 Ismario, phrigioque furens de vertice gallus.  
 Te ne ego laurigerum dicam nemus? unde poetis  
 Sed meritis frondescat apex? te myrthea silva?
- 195 Buxea te? an fato vos iam meliore cupressi?  
 Vos ne ego Pontano multum cantata poete  
 Poma loquar? citriumque nemus? quae ve aurea parte  
 Parte virent, biferoque micant pomaria cultu?  
 Heu parci nimium reges, Quos alta vetustas
- 200 Extulit. heic nulli servant tot poma dracones.  
 Vilibus illi hortis vigiles posuere Dracones.  
 Hos merito Alcides et clava est ulta trinodis:  
 Nullo hic Alcide. quo nec sunt monstra, necesse est.  
 Das populo, paucis quae poma negaverat athlas.
- 205 Huc huc deserto senior Gargetius horto,

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191. ceu R      cen B      203. Alcide. R      alcide. B

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200-202: Cfr. Hyginus, Fab. XXX 12: (Hercules) draconem immanem ..., qui mala aurea Hesperidum servare solitus erat, ad montem Atlantem interfecit.

205: Statius, *Silvae* I 3.94: Mallet deserto senior Gargettius horto.



and let the gods of pontus migrate here. And let now the ever-watchful  
 Dragons release their fruits. Why should I tell of the other fruits  
 shining far and wide under innumerable trees, and the weights making  
 210 the branches so heavy? Why should I remember the juices, or the  
 colors? As many as powerful Nature poured out through the whole  
 world; as many as the Moors have, as many as the Thracians, as many  
 as the Spaniards and the Indians, and finally as many as Pliny<sup>8</sup>  
 collected in his golden books, so many and more, in your garden the  
 215 foreman brought together. But nevertheless Nature gave these. Why  
 should I enumerate the innumerable fruits hanging by art on foreign  
 boughs, the work of grafting? Why should I mention the weights that  
 are not their own and are alien in Each trunk, the savour having been  
 mixed to the color? The Pear tree marvels that it is producing apples,  
 220 the Apple tree that it is producing pears; they marvel that alien fruits  
 grow on their branches and their fruits on alien. The gentle are mixed  
 with the severe, and the soft with the hard, and the large with the small,  
 and at the same time the Wild with the cultivated. The hard cornel trees  
 stand thick with cherries, and moreover the stern medlars with Apples;  
 225 oh blessed in spirit. You who soften the hard and the sharp, and make  
 somewhat hard the soft; you even out the large; you augment the  
 meagre; and you enrich the orchards with alternate saps. Should  
 Thebes mention only Amphion and Ismarus only Orpheus, that one  
 placing the stones in masses by the lyre, this one drawing the wild  
 230 animals and the brute things? You conquer the woods and the trunks.  
 And you level the excessively unbending pride of fruits. And by the gift  
 of your beautiful art, you replace Nature with a better culture. Why  
 should I enumerate the thousand orchards of Bacchus? Or why the  
 235 softly fallen grapes in the promenades of shadows? Why the violets?  
 And both types of Roses<sup>9</sup>? Why the lilies? And why should I enumerate  
 all the heaps of blossoms? Aethna<sup>10</sup> is conquered here, and Hybla. Nor  
 do the Zephyrs wander elsewhere more happily. Here venus and the  
 graces, and gentle cupids linger. Let this be the true home of Spring;  
 240 the home to which all the Spirits of red Pomona and of green Flora

<sup>8</sup> Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*, books XII-XXVII.

<sup>9</sup> Probably the two types mentioned by Pliny, *N.H.* XXI. 14: *Rosa nascitur* (1) *spina verius quam frutice* [the real rose], (2) *in rubo quoque proveniens* [the *rosa silvestris* or *cynorrhodon*, dog-rose; cf. *N.H.* XXV. 17].

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Auson., *Epist.* XIV 49: *floricoma* ... in Aetna; Claud., *Rapt. Pros.* III 85: *roseis nuper convallibus Aetnae*.

- Migret et Alcinous: migrent et numina Ponti.  
 Et sua pervigiles iam laxent poma Dracones.  
 Quid reliqua innumeris dicam fulgentia late  
 Poma sub arboribus, nimiumque gravantia ramos  
 210 Pondera? Quid memorem succos, memoremve colores?  
 Quot Natura potens toto diffudit in orbe:  
 Quot Mauri, quot Thraces habent, quot Iberus, et Indi:  
 Denique Quot libris collegit Plinius aureis,  
 Tot, pluresque tuo congegessit villicus horto.  
 215 Sed tamen haec Natura dedit. Quid poma per artem  
 Innumera enumerem externis pendentia ramis  
 Insitionis opus? mixtoque sapore colori  
 Non sua in Alterutris, alienaque pondera truncis?  
 Miratur se mala Pirus, pira ducere Malus:  
 220 Inque suis aliena, aliis sua crescere ramis.  
 Miscentur placida austeris: et mollia duris:  
 Grandiaque exiguis: simul et Sylvestria cultis.  
 Stant cerasis durae corni: atque immitia Malis  
 Mespila: Macte animo. qui dura atque aspera mollis,  
 225 Mollia subduras: exaequas grandia: adauges  
 Exigua: alternisque beas pomaria succis.  
 An solum memorent Amphiona, et Orpheia solum,  
 Ismarus et Thebe? lapides in molibus illum  
 Ponentem fidibus: hunc bruta, ferasque trahentem:  
 230 Tu silvas, truncosque domas. nimiumque rigentes  
 Pomorum exaequas fastus. artisque beatae  
 Munere, Naturam cultu meliore reponis.  
 Quid mille enumerem Bacchi pomaria? Quid ve  
 Umbrarum spaciis delapsas leniter uvas?  
 235 Quid violas? et utranque Rosam? Quid lilia? et omnes  
 Enumerem florum cumulos? heic vincitur Ethna.  
 Hyblaque. non alibi Zephiri foelicius errant.  
 Heic venus et charites, placidique morantur amores.  
 Haec Veris sit vera domus: cui tota rubentis  
 240 Pomonae, et viridis cesserunt Numina Florae.

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212. Indi: *ultimum signum revera macula est.*      229. *Ultimum versiculi signum non bene dispicitur: ?/;*

have yielded. Now I will sing of you, oh damp Grotto, which the Tiber washes over, and flows into. You, being suitable to the tender games of the Nymphs, refresh these Descendants of Tiber in the moist cave; to whom you often Join the tender loves of the Satyrs. Oh, what a beauty and Grace for the mossy dwellings. How much honor wanders through it. And, oh, how excessively hard and severe he is to whom such welcome pleasure does not occur to Go into the lake. Here Diana would safely set aside her clothing, neither would she bathe surprised, nor seen, would she punish the observer. Here venus would swim. Here she would prefer to be born, the deep [sea] having been spurned; and here she would temper the excessive fires of her sons. Why do I delay? Here the Nymphs, and satyrs, Diana, and venus, the gods and goddesses bathe. And there is the same practice for mortals, and gods, and men bathe. But if it should be pleasing to be borne through this cave as if by a river, then you can be borne as if by a river. For there is a little boat at hand in which you could survey the swimming of the Nymphs, and the fishes in their glassy whirlpool. Oh, these spots worthy of the gods above; where Juno may lure the thunderer, or golden venus fierce Mars. Oh, thrice happy day to us, on which you placed the first foundations of the place, when love of honest praise overtook you; and left your spirit and mind rich, and what was it that caused you to prepare such great joys for the city, Agostino, and us to enjoy so many multitudes of things under your leadership? What if not the sweet love of the homeland, which you, the Citizen, honor; what if not the Sweet love of true praise and praise without indictment. These also which you placed in various and rich cultivations, surely you were not able [to have placed them] in a better place, and under a better genius? The Tiber itself resounds harshly both above and below (oh wonderful faith); here it glides in its peaceful riverbed by your estates; the right branch attacks but softly the new bridge; going under the bridge it Rages with the waters. And impetuous it rushes in its broad stream; until (just as the Colchian Propontis is narrowed by the Bosphorus sea) it is broken against the island lying in the middle<sup>11</sup>; and indignantly it rages in the twin streams. The left hand struggles on the embankment

<sup>11</sup> *Mediamnis* is used in medieval Latin both as a noun ("island in a river") and as an adjective ("in mid-stream"). See medieval Latin dictionaries such as Niermeyer, Latham etc., s.v. Its origin is in Priscian's grammar: "... composita ut a medio terrae 'mediterraneus' et a medio amnis 'mediamna' (*Inst.* XVII 151; cf. also his *Periegesis* vv. 917-918).

- Nunc te, Quam Tybris supra alluit, Influit intra,  
O, Specus uda canam. teneris que lusibus apta  
Nympharum, humenti recreas Tyberinidas antro.  
Sepe quibus teneros Satyrorum Iungis amores.
- 245 O, Qualis nitor, et muscosis Gratia tectis.  
Quantus inerrat honos. Durum, o nimiumque severum  
Cui non Ire lacu subeat tam grata voluptas.  
Heic Diana suos tuto deponat amictus,  
Nec deprehensa lavet, nec plectat visa videntem.
- 250 Heic natet. heic spreto nasci cytherea profundo  
Malit, et heic nimios natorum temperet ignes.  
Quid moror? heic Nymphae, satyrique, Diana, venusque:  
Diique, deaeque lavant. Idem est mortalibus usus,  
Diique, hominesque lavant. Quod si ceu flumine ferri
- 255 Per specus hoc libeat: possis ceu flumine ferri.  
Cymbula nam presto est qua tu lustrare natatus  
Nympharum, et vitreo possis in gurgite pisces.  
O, superis haec digna deis loca. Quo ve tonantem  
Eliciat Iuno: et toruum venus aurea Martem.
- 260 O, nobis ter fausta dies. qua prima locasti  
Fundamenta loci, tibi quum subrepsit honestae  
Laudis amor. ditesque animos, mentemque reliquit  
Et quid erat, Quo tanta urbi Augustine parares  
Gaudia: tot rerum duce te frueremur acervos?
- 265 Quid nisi dulcis amor patriae, quam Civis honoras:  
Quid nisi Dulcis amor verae et sine crimine laudis?  
Haec quoque que vario posuisti et divite cultu,  
Num poteras meliore situ, genioque, locoque?  
Ipse Tybris (miranda fides) infraque: supraque:
- 270 Trux sonat: heic placido propter tua labitur alveo:  
Dextra novum exagitat pontem, sed leniter unda:  
Sub pontem Bacchatur aquis. et flumine largo  
Impetuosa ruit. Donec (ceu Colcha Propontis  
Bosphoreo contracta mari) mediamne supina
- 275 Frangitur: et geminum strepit indignata per amnem.  
Laeva Triumphalis luctatur in aggere pontis:

of the Triumphal bridge<sup>12</sup>, up under the bridge of Hadrian, than which no other one is more August with its rosy coverings and the sacred weight of the fathers [= the Cardinals]. Besides, because of the rocks, the way hither is [open] to no ships, either those which the Tiber has borne upstream from the Tyrrhenian swell, or those Which the downstream current bears through the stream that is like a river. Eternal peace resides in the place. Nor is the stream broken by oars, lest the Sailors give noise, or the Bilgewater would give stench. Thus there is the neighboring quiet of the river, and the distant sound of the waves on both sides is enjoyed; so that the sound does not rage with many murmurs, and a deep quiet goes along with gentle whispers. Thus is the augustan abode of the spot, which a harvest of grain, and the new bridge, and old bridges adorn on every side. Furthermore, I suspect once upon a time that your estates belonged to the honored Cocles, or had been given to the plough of the great dictator<sup>13</sup>. And perhaps here Porsena fixed his tents, perhaps crossing over hither with his conspiring heart, Mutius roasted his erring right hand, the fire being placed underneath; and the place bears the deserved honors of such virtue. Besides you are happy by the near Estates of two Great Fathers, who gleam with rosy garments. The great Riaria home<sup>14</sup> sent forth that one; the great Farnese home<sup>15</sup> sent forth this other; their virtue bore them to these heights. This one was a good part of the sacred college, but that one was the chairman of it. But because it is planted in an urban area, and almost planted within the city, on this side you see the houses, on that side the Country, where the greatest vineyard of Janus is poured out, and covers everywhere the whole hill; so it was, Agostino, that you were always the good City person in the Country, and might be the peaceful one in the city. Therefore since you have found the site of this place, from here the Countries of the gods, the city, Janus, the plains, and the heights adorn you. But if the monuments

<sup>12</sup> The 'Pons Triumphalis' or the 'Pons Neronianus ad Sassiam' as it is called in the medieval *Mirabilia Urbis Romae* no longer exists (except for a few traces under the water level). It was situated next to the new Ponte Vittorio Emanuele down the river. See S. Delli, *I Ponti di Roma* (Roma 1977), pp. 36-40.

<sup>13</sup> In the 16th century the Pons Triumphalis sometimes was considered to be the Pons Sublicius famous for the fight of the Horatii and the Curiatii; hence it was called Ponte d'Orazio from the name of the winner (Horatius Cocles). The fields of the farmer Cincinnatus called to the dictatorship were situated near the same bridge: "sua iugera in Vaticano, quae Prata Quintia appellantur" (Plin., N.H. XVIII.20).

<sup>14</sup> Palazzo Riario, built in 1473 by Cardinal Cristoforo Riario on the site of the now

- Sub pontem Hadriani, Quo non Augustior alter  
 Tegminibus patrum roseis, et pondere sacro.  
 Adde quod huc nullis iter est per saxa carinis:  
 280 Seu quas Tirrheni Tybris subvexit ab aestu:  
 Seu Quas flumineum fert unda secunda per amnem.  
 Pax aeterna loco est. nec remis frangitur unda:  
 Ne strepitum Nautae: neu det Sentina putorem.  
 Sic fluvii vicina quies: et longus utrinque  
 285 Undarum sonitus iuvat: ut nec murmure multo  
 Obstrepit, et leni requies eat alta susurro.  
 Sic sedes augusta loci: Quem farrea messis,  
 Et novus, et veteres exornant undique pontes.  
 Quid quod honorati tua praedia suspicor olim  
 290 Coclitis: aut magni data dictatoris aratro.  
 Forsan et heic fixit tentoria Porsena: forsan  
 Huc coniurato transcendens pectore, dextram  
 Mutius errantem subiecto torruit igni:  
 Fertque locus meritos tantae virtutis honores.  
 295 Adde quod es foelix vicino Rure duorum  
 Magnorum Patrum, roseo qui tegmine fulgent.  
 Illum Riaria: hunc alium Pharnesia magnae  
 Emisere domus: tulit haec in culmina virtus.  
 Hic bona pars magni, sed princeps ille senatus.  
 300 At quod in urbanis, et pene intersitus urbi,  
 Inde domos, hinc Rura vides, qua plurima Iani  
 Funditur, et toto passim stat vinea colle:  
 Hoc erat, ut semper bonus Augustine, vel ipsa  
 Urbanus per Rura fores: placidusque per urbes.  
 305 Ergo loci nactum sedes, hinc Rura deorum,  
 Hinc urbs: hinc Ianus: hinc plana: hinc alta decorant.  
 Quod si te veterum capiant monumenta Quiritum:

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306. *Ultima littera t esse videtur.* RB      307. Quiritum. RB

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extant 18th century Palazzo Corsini, on the other side of the Via della Lungara. Blosius refers to Raffaele Riario (†1521), cardinal since 1477 and S.R.E. Camerarius 1503-1521 (Eubel, II, p. 18; III, p. 81).

<sup>15</sup> The Farnese garden adjoining the Chigi estate. In 1579 Alessandro Farnese bought the villa Chisiana and from that time the two properties became united and known as the Villa Farnesina. Alessandro Farnese (Pope Paul III from 1534-49) became a cardinal in 1493 (Eubel, II, p. 22; III, p. 22).

of the ancient Roman Citizens should entice you; you examine from here the hill of Janus, the Temple across the river, where the fora have  
 310 been joined to fora, and Janus is arranged on an arch. In this area the Tarpeian rock that once was increased by trophies gleams. There the Palatine is resplendent from many a Caesar. And next the summits of the Aventine hill shine toward you. From here coming back to yourself,  
 315 you will see the offering of Marcellus<sup>16</sup>; and almost opposite this the Pompeian Theater; on this side of the Tiber the Quintian fields, the fields of Mars across the Tiber. Here you will say, "These then had been," and you in the middle, turning, will survey these things placed under your eyes. And these things here and there Cornelius<sup>17</sup> would recall and explain with learned mouth. Oh, outstanding ornament of  
 320 the country, where it is possible to discern the lords of the earth, and almost to attain the heights. Oh, triply happy aspect of the place, to which blessedness fell by lot, so that the Tiber, sovereign of the Nile and the Danube, now carefully waters your gardens, Agostino. Not  
 325 however undeservedly. For indeed, as the generous river extends its waters to you, and is joyful to give itself to your plants; so you pour riches in proportion to your merits, and your virtue. And you give that many grow by your gifts. The Tiber rightly pours his waters for you, and irrigates your gardens. He seems to me now to have brought himself forth from his golden eddies, his temples crowned with many  
 330 reeds, and his Arms curved with a horn full of things. And thus he seems to speak with you, and to send back these voices from the depths:

"My nobility, that was sown with unkempt banks, now returns with  
 335 better omen. Now the Tiber will run with honored waters, and boldly I will flow into my sea. For indeed after that Empire fell, than which no one was greater in the world, and which the idleness of the Caesars broke, I began to flow less. And it shamed me, the Tiber, to bring forth my remaining stream when so many [waters] had been lost at the same  
 340 time. And would that, then, the Phaetonian fire had dried me of my waters again, or I had gone into the bowels of the earth; I would not have seen Rome blazing with Barbarian ruins, and the houses crackling

<sup>16</sup> Viz., the Theater of Marcellus.

<sup>17</sup> Cornelius Benignus, Chigi's personal secretary. See my edition of Aegidius Gallus' *Vera libellus*, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 38 (1989), 1-99 (p. 3, p. 11, c. 1; p. 17, ll. 24-25), and *Dizionario biogr. Ital.*, vol. 8, pp. 512-513.

- Aspicias hinc Iani collem: trans flumina Templum:  
 Qua fora iuncta foris, et structo Ianus in arcu.
- 310 Hac Tarpeia micat rupes olim aucta tropeis.  
 Inde Palatinus multo de Caesare fulget.  
 Mox et Aventini radiant tibi culmina montis.  
 Inde ad te rediens, Marcelli dona videbis:  
 Et Pompeianum pene e regione Theatrum:
- 315 Quintia cis Tybrim: trans Tybrim Martia prata,  
 Heic haec tum fuerant dices: mediusque rotabis  
 Luminibus subiecta tuis. Quae singula passim  
 Explicet: et docto memoret Cornelius ore.  
 O, decus eximium ruris: Quo cernere fas est
- 320 Terrarum dominos et pene attingere montes.  
 O, facies ter fausta loci: cui sorte beata  
 Contigit: ut Nili Tybris regnator et Histri,  
 Augustine tuos nunc sedulus irriget hortos.  
 Nec tamen immerito. namque ut tibi prodigus amnis
- 325 Porgit aquas, gestitque tuis se se indere plantis:  
 Sic tu pro meritis, et pro virtute beatas  
 Fundis opes. multosque tuis das crescere donis.  
 Fundit aquas merito tibi Tybris, et irrigat hortos.  
 Qui mihi nunc flavis sese exeruisse videtur
- 330 Vorticibus, multa redimitus tempora canna:  
 Et rerum pleno curvatus Bracchia cornu,  
 Sic tecum effari, atque has alte reddere voces.  
 Nunc mea nobilitas squalentibus obsita ripis,  
 Auspicio meliore redit. Iam Tybris honoris
- 335 Ibit aquis: audaxque meum delabar in aequor.  
 Namque ego postquam illud, Quo nullum maius in orbe,  
 Occidit Imperium, Quod Caesarum inertia fregit:  
 Inde minor labi coepi. puduitque superstes  
 Tot simul amissis Tybrim producere flumen.
- 340 Atque utinam tum me rursus Phaetontius ignis  
 Exhaustisset aquis: aut issem in viscera terrae:  
 Non ego Barbaricis Romam flagrare ruinis,  
 Igne crepare domos, ferro subsidere turre,

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340-341: Cf. Ovid., *Met.* II 257-259: Fors eadem (= Phaetontis ruina) ... siccat /.../ cuique fuit rerum promissa potentia, Thybrim.



with fire, and the towers leveled by war, nor had I seen the walls  
 345 thrown down on my banks. Yet would it not have been better that I  
 were buried in lybian sands, when I heard the moans of men, and their  
 plaints in death? when so many necks, cut by the Gothic hand<sup>18</sup>, were  
 mixing their blood to our stream, so that blood ran as water. Oh, how  
 350 willingly I would have been with dried streams, when the Barbarian  
 drank my waters against my will. But nevertheless it was painful to be a  
 river god, since we streams are doomed by the law of the gods to live in  
 perpetual running. I did however what I could, I grieved; and drowned  
 in the deep, I increased myself with tears; and that wreath which I bore  
 355 from the whole world, I hurled down, piteous wreath, in the shady  
 cave. And I dashed my maimed horns against Etruscan boulders. But  
 the previous disaster had fallen from my mind, when religion having  
 taken pity on us, piously regarded us and restored the city with its seat,  
 360 to its Penates, and its true gods. I did not endure that, that I would be  
 the only one flowing along sluggishly, when now the walls of the city  
 were gleaming, and a rome was placed near rome; that I alone would  
 be befouled in my weak bed by dirty waters; that I, better than the  
 other bank, should not be adorned by Villas, and that I be sordid on  
 365 both banks; and should flow along no rich bank. And so that the grief  
 would be all the greater, the honors of the Anio were received: the fact  
 that it which flows into us with a thin stream, once upon a time  
 gleamed with villas that were so famous along with song, and that I  
 should completely lack those villas with which the Anio, a part of me,  
 370 gleamed<sup>19</sup>. Your ornament of the country, which I admire on the  
 embankment of the right shore, Agostino, finally took away these  
 complaints. You wipe away the grieving river, and the streams squalid  
 with grief, and the envious mould with precious ornament. Therefore  
 375 the garment which I had sadly worn having been cast aside, I will go in  
 my ancient splendour. And taking up again the wreath, I will spend  
 festive days forever. And I will invoke the nymphs who would weave  
 the Dances, and with softly pattering leap may they glide with me in  
 dancing bands into the sea that will applaud. The supple Nereids will  
 380 come to see, Cerulean Triton will go with his conch, and he will draw

<sup>18</sup> Blossius writes Geticus, but means Gothicus. At least since the 6th century the name Getae has been used as a synonym of Gothi. Cf. Jordanes, *De origine actibusque Getarum*; Corippus, *Ioh.* II 383: Nos ... Francosque Getasque domamus.

<sup>19</sup> Allusion to Statius' description of Vopiscus' villa at Tivoli (*Silvae* I 3). Cf. v. 70 sqq.: Illic ipse antris Anien et fonte relicto ....

- Nec disiecta meis vidissem moenia ripis.  
345 An non me libicis mersum praestaret harenis,  
Quum gemitus audirem hominum, atque in morte querelas?  
Quum Getica praesepta manu tot colla, cruorem  
Amni immiscerent nostro, cruor iret ut amnis.  
O, ego fluminibus siccis quam sponte fuissem,  
350 Me nolente meas biberet quum Barbarus undas.  
Sed tamen esse deum nocuit, quod lege deorum  
Flumina perpetuo damnamur vivere cursu.  
Quod potui tamen indolui, mersusque profundo  
Me me auxi lachrimis: quodque omni ex orbe ferebam,  
355 Deieci obscuro sertum miserabile in antro.  
Truncaque Tyrrhenis illisi cornua saxis.  
At prior ex animo clades effluxerat, ut nos  
Religio miserata pie respexit, et urbem  
Restituit cum sede, Penatibus, et veris diis:  
360 Illud non tuleram, quod iam fulgentibus urbis  
Moenibus, et posita, romae quae proxima, roma:  
Solus iners fluerem. Solus marcente profundo  
Stercoreis turparer aquis. neque margine ripae  
Ex alio melior, Villis ornarer, utrinque  
365 Sordidus: et nulla fluerem non paupere ripa.  
Quoque magis dolor esset, erant Anienis honores  
Accepti: Quod qui tenui nos influit amne:  
Tam claris olim nituit cum carmine villis:  
Queisque Anien nituit mea pars, ego totus egerem.  
370 Abstulit has tandem tuus Augustine querelas  
Ruris honos, dextrae quem miror in aggere ripae.  
Tu moerentem amnem, et squalentia flumina luctu,  
Liventemque situm precioso abstergis honore.  
Ergo ego deposito, tuleram quem moestus, amictu:  
375 In veteres ibo cultus. et sarta resumens,  
Usque dies peragam festos. nymphasque ciebo,  
Quae nectant Choreas: et saltu lene crepanti  
Plausurum choreis mecum labantur in aequor.  
Spectatum molles venient Nereides: ibit  
380 Caeruleus Triton concha: et trahet agmina secum

with him the retinue of the sea, and he will Join the Tyrrhenian nymphs  
 with our band. The shores will reverberate with great sounds, and the  
 Tiberine mouth far away, and the Woods nearby will reverberate with  
 the neighboring murmur. The waters will admire the new joys, and they  
 385 will be a wonder to the fish, and will draw the astonished Seals to the  
 shores. Later, I will speak of these things of yours, the tumult having  
 been soothed. Oh, Neptune, eternal god to me, and the rest of the band  
 of the sea, who gently Helped our applause, I pray one thing, that you  
 390 will sing of the author of our honor whom you know, both chigi and  
 Rovere throughout the world. And while you are traversing the ocean,  
 and the middle of the sea, may you make this one celebrated on all the  
 shores of Africa, and in great Asia. This is enough. The third part  
 [Europe] knows. Neptune will approve, and he will love the one  
 395 ornamenting his waters. I will relate this, Agostino, as I am able, but  
 far below what you deserve. Certainly I will always be situated under  
 this country estate, and I will place my whole spirit under these fields.  
 Here I will give laws to the waves, you will give laws to me, and you  
 will give laws to the waves; here I will serve with peaceful waters, and I  
 400 will water the gardens with gentle streams. And so that the gardens not  
 be covered with mud due to the rising waters, we will restrain the spring  
 waters, and so that your cave may play together with various fish. I will  
 drive hither the fish of the sea, I will join our bands to these, so that  
 405 our cave may play with various fish. It remains, that I myself may give  
 my years to you happily, that you may live as much as this water lives,  
 as much as these streams endure." The Tiber spoke these things. And  
 he, roving your estates with many a look, was greatly astounded, and  
 he left behind him the dew, and the saps for the grasses.

Oh blessed in spirit, oh powerful Agostino, who raised the beautiful  
 410 fields with so many good things; Rome owes you crowns, and worthy  
 inscriptions; Rome to whom you restore her ancient walls, to which  
 walls we had already unaccustomed ourselves in our age. You, more  
 than generous, ornament the Tiber, the city, and the Roman suburbs.  
 415 Your right hand spared no expenses; and you build up a small country  
 estate with much gold. Blessed one, indeed more illustrious through this  
 one project than all the treasures of stingy Kings; in whom the thirst  
 for gold is always firmly entrenched, and who get the gold to no  
 purpose. And these Kings are not ashamed to be slaves to mined

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382-383: Cf. Verg., *Aen.* I 13-14: *Tiberinaque longe / Ostia.*

- Aequoris: et nostro Tirrhenidas agmine Iunget.  
 Littora plangentur strepitu, Tyberinaque longe  
 Hostia, et adstantes vicino murmure Silvae.  
 Mirabuntur aquae nova gaudia, erunt quoque miro  
 385 Piscibus, et stupidos vertent ad littora Phocas.  
 Post, ego sedato de te loquar ista tumultu.  
 Neptunne, aethernum mihi numen, et agmina ponti  
 Cetera, que nostros Iuvistis mitia plausus:  
 Unum oro, ut nostri autorem quem nostis honoris,  
 390 Et chisium, et Rueram toto cantetis in orbe.  
 Dumque per oceanum, et medias transcurritis undas,  
 Hunc Lybiae totis celebrem reddatis in oris,  
 Atque Asia in magna. Satis hoc. pars tertia novit.  
 Annuet, ornantemque undas Neptunus amabit.  
 395 Haec ego Que potero referam Augustine. Sed infra  
 Longe: quam meritis. Certe hoc sub rure iacebo  
 Semper, et haec totum statuam sub praedia numen.  
 Heic undis dabo iura, dabis mihi tu, et dabis undis:  
 Heic placidis famulabor aquis: hortosque rigabo  
 400 Lenibus alluviis. ne ve excrescentibus undis  
 Horti oblimentur: vernas cohibebimus undas.  
 Utque tuum variis colludat piscibus antrum:  
 Aequoris huc adigam pisces, his agmina iungam  
 Nostra, tuum ut variis colludat piscibus antrum.  
 405 Restat, ut ipse meos tibi dem foeliciter annos:  
 Tam vivas, quam vivit aqua haec, quam flumina durant.  
 Haec Tybris. et multo circum tua lumine oberrans,  
 Obstupuit: succosque herbis, roremque reliquit.  
 Macte animo Augustine potens: Qui praedia tantis  
 410 Erexti speciosa bonis. tibi Roma coronas  
 Debet, et insignes titulos: cui prisca reponis  
 Moenia: queis nostro iam nos desuevimus aevo.  
 Tu Tybrim, tu urbem, et Romana suburbia, plusquam  
 Prodigus exornas. nullis tua dextra pepercit  
 415 Sumptibus: et grandi parvum rus extruis auro.  
 Macte, vel hoc uno proiectu illustrior, omni  
 Parcorum Regum gaza: quibus insidet auri  
 Usque sitis: nullosque aurum potiuntur ad usus.  
 Nec pudet effossis Reges servire metallis.

420 metals. Let these greedy Kings honor you, king in spirit, you who will  
be powerful; you who force gold and metals to be the servants; you  
who are worthy to enjoy a closer Tagus, and to have the Hermus wash  
your estates, and Pactolus enrich them with its gold-plated sands.  
425 Therefore I Who, unworthily, was born and raised at Rome, and which  
you have supplied with so much, affected by love of the fatherland, I  
will bear these prayers to the gods. May they give back to you the  
rewards of so much honor, and may they set up in heaven the  
monuments which we ourselves are unable to do. May they give you  
the years of Nestor and Priam, but Priam's years as auspicious as those  
430 of Nestor. May your credit remain unshaken on land and sea, that  
flourishes far on land and sea; so that the Mariner would bear, and  
bring back to you the secure goods, nor may the Pirate harm, nor the  
waves stand in the way with the breaking storms; but may the south  
435 wind favor you, and his brothers favor your sails. May you be able to  
spend the green Parts of your age, so that you may consider the  
decrepit part old age and think your old age Youth. May the offspring  
That the gods will have given you, greatly augment your joys; and may  
the happy throng encircle you in your happiness. These are the things I  
would pray. But why would I ask more than these? Should I ask royal  
440 power for you who are king in spirit? Should I wish the honors of a  
better fatherland? But the Roman citizens adopted you a citizen, born  
of Siena. Could you have been able to be better born, and reborn, than  
to obtain Siena by birth, and Rome by gift? Both cherish you; and you,  
445 Agostino, are a glory to each. How fortunately you were born of Siena,  
and reborn of Rome; which cities the sign of the she-wolf had bound  
together as allies. Why should I mention the noble family tree, and the  
famous birth from both Parts? Why should I tell of the Chigi and the  
Rovere, the names of your race? For indeed as there are two father-  
450 lands, there are two names to your family. Or were you better able,  
Agostino, to merit heaven, than to find a heavenly race in our world?  
What should I pray, or what more should I hope for you? You have  
won the goods of fortune; of spirit; of body; you have won all these  
goods. You are happy therefore in yourself. Would that everyone be  
455 blessed by these three things. Therefore there remains nothing that I  
could wish for you; nothing except that these would remain for you  
perpetually; wherefore you alone might be able to be considered happy  
before your death. Finally let the estates be liable to no thunderbolts;

- 420 Te te animo regem, Reges venerentur avari,  
Qui poteris: qui aurum, et cogis servire metalla.  
Digne Tago propiore frui, cuique alluat Hermus  
Praedia, et auricomis ditet Pactolus harenis.  
Ergo ego Qui immerito Romae sum natus, et altus,
- 425 Quam tu exornasti: patriae contactus amore,  
Ad superos hec vota feram. Tibi praemia reddant  
Tantum meritorum, et quas non possumus ipsi  
In coelo statuas statuunt. dent Nestoris annos  
Et Priami: at faustos Priami ceu Nestoris annos.
- 430 Ut tua quae longe pollet, terraque, marique:  
Inconcussa fides maneat terraque, marique.  
Ut ferat, et referat tutas tibi Navita merces:  
Nec Pirata obsit, nec fractis unda procellis:  
At faveat notus, et fratres tua vela secudent.
- 435 Ut virides aevi valeas traducere Parteis,  
Decrepitam ut senium, seniumque reare Iuventam.  
Ut soboles Quam dii dederint, tibi gaudia multum  
Augeat: et foelix foelicem turba coronet.  
Haec ego. nam quod ego plura his precer? an tibi regna?
- 440 Rex animo es. patriae ne optem melioris honores?  
At Senis natum, civem ascivere Quirites.  
An poteras melius nasci, meliusque renasci,  
Quam Senas natu nancisci, munere Romam?  
Utraque te colit: Utrique Augustine decori es.
- 445 Quam bene tu Senis natus: Romaeque renatus:  
Quas insigne lupae socias devinxerat urbes.  
Quid memorem clarum stemma, et de Partibus ortum?  
Quid Chisios, Rueraque loquar cognomina gentis?  
Namque duae ut patriae, duo sunt cognomina genti.
- 450 An poteras melius coelum Augustine mereri?  
Quam nostro coeleste genus nanciscier orbe?  
Quid precer, aut ultra exoptem tibi? Tu bona nactus  
Fortunae: tu animi: tu corporis: omnia nactus.  
Tu te igitur foelix. tribus his sit quisque beatus.
- 455 Nil ergo est reliquum optem quod tibi. nil nisi ut ista  
Perpetuo maneant tibi: Quo tu solus haberi  
Ante obitum foelix possis. ut denique nullis  
Praedia fulminibus: sint nulli obnoxia motu.

to no earthquakes. May they be safe from heat and from ice, through  
 460 the rainy Autumns, and the winter snow, and the immoderate heat.  
 May the violets flourish perpetually. Nor let Sirius harm the grasses;  
 nor the cold weather of the North winds harm the golden fruits. But let  
 eternal spring reside. Let the year be neither too hot nor too cold in its  
 465 seasons; but let it bloom in time Eternal. May the work live. And may  
 you yourself live long Presiding over the work.

Printed in Rome by Jacobus Mazochius, Bookseller of the Roman  
 Academy; in the year of salvation, January 27, 1512.

## APPENDIX

### MISCELLANEOUS VILLA POEMS

#### Manuscript Sources and Editions

##### Poem 1

Ms. Vat. lat. 3351 f. 123<sup>r</sup>; Moncallero, *op. cit.* (Introd., n. 4 above), p. 80 n. 3, with two false readings (v. 3 *errans amnis*; v. 4 *quae*); C. Frommel, *Der römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance*, 3 vols. (Tübingen 1973), 2, p. 151 (introducing three errors: v. 1 *octogeminus ... vidit*; v. 2 *Luminia*).

##### Poems 2a/b/c

Ms. Vat. Chis. R. V. e (III.0), f. 475<sup>r-v</sup>; Barber. lat. 1903 ff. 99<sup>v</sup>-100<sup>r</sup>. The Chigi ms. has a false reading in poem 2a, v. 7: *mentis*; in 2 c, v. 8 Barberini reads *Mutua*.

##### Editions.

2a: Cugnoni, *op. cit.* (Introd., n. 42), 2 p. 225-26, following Chigi; I. Rowland, "Some Panegyrics to A. Chigi", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984), 195, following Barberini.

2b: Cugnoni, 2 p. 226; Frommel, *op. cit.* above, 2, p. 152 (with a printing error in v. 1: *Roman*).

2c: Cugnoni, *ibid*; Frommel, 2, p. 152 and n. 26; Rowland, p. 195.

- Utque per Autumnos pluvios hiememque nivosam,  
 460 Immodicosque aestus, aestu sint tuta geluque.  
 Perpetuum vireant violae. neque Syrius herbis  
 Obsit: et auricomis Borealia frigora pomis.  
 At ver aethernum maneat. nec partibus annus  
 Ferveat, aut rigeat: sed Iugi tempore vernet.  
 465 Vivat opus. Vivasque operi longum ipse Superstes.

Impraessum Romae per Iacobum Mazochium  
 Romanae Academiae Bibliopolam Anno  
 Salutis. M.D.XII. Die xxvii.  
 Ianuari.

#### Poem 3

Ms. Vat. Chis. D. III. 39, f. 181; Vat. lat. 2836 ff. 245<sup>v</sup>-246<sup>r</sup>. The poem is attributed to H. Donatus on the basis of a marginal note in the Chigi ms. (by Cugnoni?). The Vatican ms. offers the following variant readings: v. 2 *fidem*; v. 3 *terque*; v. 7 *addidit*; v. 22 *istec*, all of them, except the last one, *contra sensum aut metrum*.

Edition: Rowland, *art. cit.*, p. 198, with two errors: v. 14 *Conviviasque*; v. 20 *legeret*, and attributing the poem (without supporting evidence) to M.A. Casanova.

#### Poem 4

Vat. lat. 2835 f. 213<sup>r</sup>; 3353 f. 110<sup>v</sup>; Ottob. lat. 2860 f. 31<sup>v</sup>



## 1.

## FAUSTO CAPODIFERRO

Janus sees the atria of Chigi with his eightfold  
 eyes, the God brings back tired but unsatiated  
 eyes. The Tiber says, "My stream, rather than the  
 pure poem of Blossius, will run dry over the long  
 years."

## 2a.

## GIROLAMO BORGIA TO CHIGI

Riches bestow honor on others, Augustus; you bestow  
 light and great honor on riches. For since you renew  
 such immense dwellings with kingly splendor for Rome,  
 5 you bring back the ancient name of Ancus<sup>20</sup>. Since you  
 forbid so many eminent spirits, so many illustrious  
 talents of men to perish at this end of the age, you  
 teach what now are the true gifts of Kings, cherishing  
 of our own accord all that is the best through your joyous feasts.

## b.

## ON HIS PALACE

Lest the busy crowd blame the god Jove, coming to Rome  
 from the starry height of heaven, magnanimous Chigi,  
 a Tuscan himself, has built this palace on Tuscan soil,  
 5 far from the common crowd, so that the God himself,  
 when he descends now from the high pole, may boast  
 that he has another pole on earth.

## c.

## ON THE SAME

After noble Rome fell by the barbarian fury, all the  
 Gods left the falling City. But when Augustus Chigi  
 built his royal home, and restored the ancient  
 5 splendor, both Gods and Goddesses together came back

<sup>20</sup> Ancus Marcius, fourth king of Rome and famous for his building activity.

## 1.

## FAUSTUS CAPIFERREUS

Chisi octogeminis oculis videt atria Janus  
Lumina fessa refert non satiata Deus  
Arescet potius longis meus amnis ab annis  
Lactea quam Bloxi carmina Tybris ait.

## 2a.

## AD AUG. CHISIUM HIERONYMUS BORGIA

Divitiae pariunt aliis, Auguste, nitorem:  
Tu lumen, magnum divitiisque decus.  
Nam quod regifico sumptu tam ingentia Romae  
Tecta novas: Ancos nomina prisca refers;  
5 Quod tot praestantes animas tot clara virorum  
Ingenia hoc aevi fine perire vetas,  
Optima queque fovens mensis genialibus ultro:  
Quae iam sint Regum munera vera doces.

## b.

## IN PALATIUM EIUSDEM

Stellifero coeli venientem e culmine Romam,  
Ne divum incuset sedula turba Jovem;  
Magnanimus vulgo semotam Chisius aulam  
Condidit hanc Tusco, Tuscus et ipse, solo.  
5 Ut Deus ipse polo cum iam descendet ab alto  
Sese alium in terris iactet habere polum.

## c.

## IN IDEM

Barbaricis postquam furiis ruit inclyta Roma,  
Excessere omnes Urbe cadente Dei.  
Ast ubi regales Augustus Chisius aedes  
Condidit, antiquum restituitque decus:  
5 Diique Deaeque simul coelo rediere: beatam

from heaven, each one vying to cherish this one  
 blessed home. Therefore Bacchus, Cupid, the Graces,  
 golden Venus, Pallas swore to inhabit mutually this  
 spot. Happy Augustus, whose roof the Gods love  
 10 willingly, and men eagerly honor with words of favor.

## 3.

## GIROLAMO DONATO

Happy little villa which Chigi set up as the seat of  
 the Gods, nor does he allow us to be envious of the  
 Gods. And most blessed villa for the praise of which  
 5 Blossius drained all the waters of Helicon, and every  
 age will marvel at the new honors which he has given.  
 Chigi adds the gold and erects the masses, which rival  
 the seats of Olympus, and he transfixes the soul with  
 10 speaking pictures; but Blossius summons forth Venus and  
 Cupid, and the nymphs and graces, and Apollo with the  
 Muses, and with the son of Maia, and the Thunderer  
 himself down from the sky, and he makes them guests of  
 15 Chigi forever. Whoever will have seen or shall hear of the  
 expense, that one will marvel at the purple and also  
 at the gilded royal portals. But whatever contrivance  
 rivals the stars finally will be worn away by  
 20 crumbling time. Yet whoever will read these things  
 will admit that they have rightly been entrusted to  
 future ages, and he will repeat those things forever  
 and ever. Happy little villa thrice blessed, for the  
 25 praise of which Blossius drained all the waters of  
 Helicon, and every age will marvel at the new honors  
 which he has given.

Unam hanc certantes quisque fovere domum:  
Denique Liber, Amor, Charites, Venus aurea, Pallas  
Mutue iurarunt hunc habitare locum.  
Felix cuius amant Dii tecta, Auguste, volentes:  
10 Certatimque homines ore favente colunt.

## 3.

## HIERONYMUS DONATUS

- Felix villula, Chisius Deorum  
Quam sedem statuit, nec invidere  
Ipsis nos sinit, atque perbeata  
Cui totos Heliconis hausit amnes  
5 Laudandae Blossius, novosque honores  
Omnis, quos dedit, obstupescet aetas.  
Aurum Chisius addit erigitque  
Moles, sedibus aemulas olympi,  
Et pictura animum loquente figit:  
10 At Cyprim Blossius Cupidinemque  
Et nymphas, charitasque, Deliumque  
Cum Musis, genitoque Maia, et ipsum  
E celo quoque provocat Tonantem,  
Convivasque facit perenne Chisi.  
15 Quisquis viderit audietve sumptum  
Emirabitur ille purpuramque  
Auratos quoque regiosque postes.  
Sed quae machina cunque certat astris  
Scabro denique conteretur aevo.  
20 At qui legerit ista iure seclis  
Commendata fatebitur futuris,  
Atque isthaec iterabit usque et usque.  
Felix villula terque perbeata  
Cui totos Heliconis hausit amnes  
25 Laudandae Blossius, novosque honores  
Omnis, quos dedit, obstupescet aetas.

## 4.

ANTONIO TEBALDEO  
ON LEO AND CHIGI

While Leo was reclining in the beautiful gardens of  
Chigi, Jupiter, turned to the gods, spoke thus, "What  
banquets are equal to those? If we wish to confess  
the truth, our nectar and ambrosia are cheap." Those  
5 celestial gods, whom the crimes of men drove from the  
earth, Chigi's blessed table may summon back, Chigi.

4.

ANTONIUS TEBALDEUS  
DE LEONE ET GHISIO

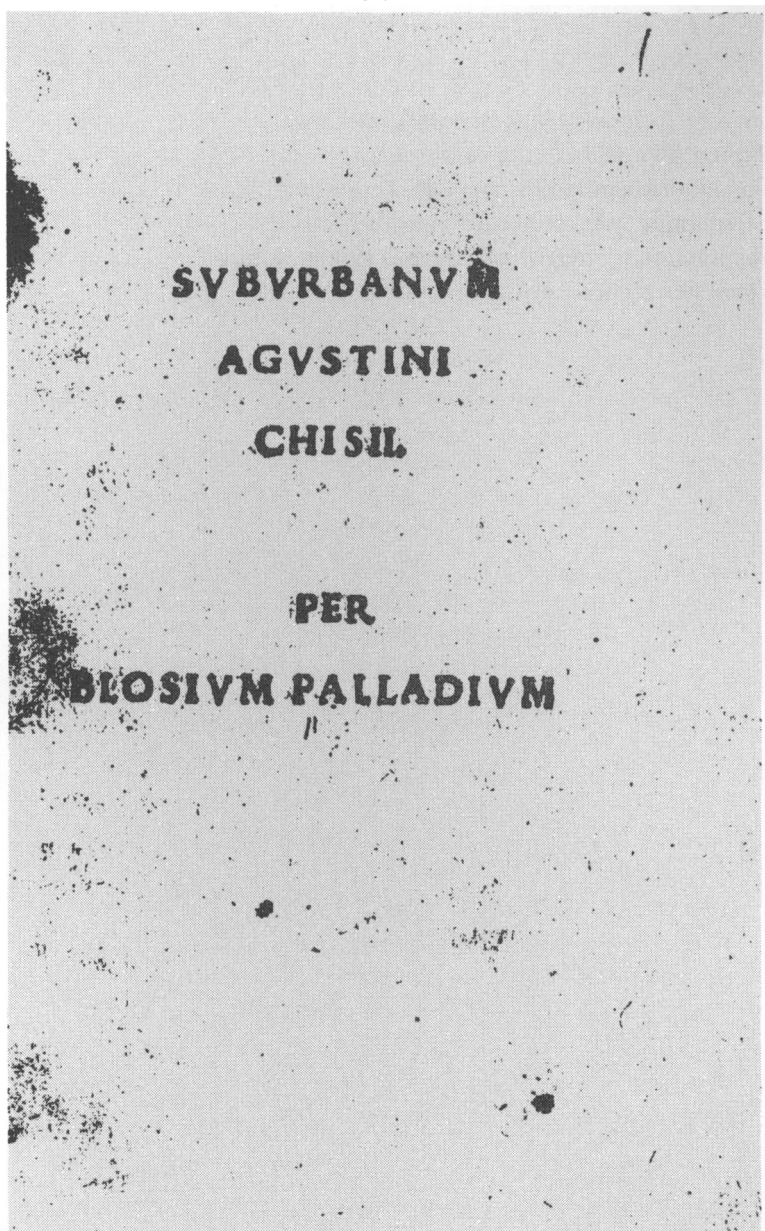
Dum Leo formosis Ghisi discumberet hortis

Jupiter ad superos talia versus ait.

Quaenam aequanda illis convivia, vera fateri

Si volumus, vile est nectar, et ambrosia.

- 5 Quos hominum e terris pepulerunt crimina, Ghisi  
Coelestes revocet mensa beata deos.



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SVBVRBANVM AVGVSTINI  
CHISII. RVERAE.  
SE NENSIS.

**E**LLESPONTiati Quisq; pomaria reglā  
Quisq; & Alcinoi viridātes florib; hortos;  
I utaq; peruigili laudauit poma Draconē:  
Nam fiteat/priscosq; nouis addicat honores.  
Ecce autem Italix decus Augustinus/amcenos  
Quales nullas hūm tulit/extruit hortos.  
¶ Vnde canit: Qua parte uager? quo fine residam?  
Phoebe mone. sen tu potius/qui carminis huius  
Siluarūq; Papini auctor. nam nec tibi phœbus  
Par sonet & centum prestas hac laude Marones.  
Tu minimuz deprome tua mihi nectar ab urna:  
Qui ueterum ornasti precioso carmine Villas:  
Tu mihi pande uias/uirelq; in carmina fundes.  
Nec patiare meo tremere aut arefcere siluam.  
¶ Est ultra/supraq; Tybrim/sub uertice Iani/  
Septimiana loci regio: Quo & nomine Porta  
In uaticanum per littora Tybridis effere:  
Heic nitidum colurgit opus:huc adfluit omnis  
Spectatum Roma:huc iuuenes/pueriq;/senesq;  
Vt Quondam Iliacos subiit dum machina muros/  
Ad Troiam fecere/ruunt. Puper ille decorem  
Rurishic a cultu murorum diuite pender.

**B**



Forteus/in superas amor est nunc scandere partes  
 Nunc iterum labi/e/superis/infrag reuertis  
 Nunc iuuat ad superos iterum/supraq referri.  
 Nunc ductare aciem porrecta per ordine longo  
 Agmina portar: & sibi se reddentia pulchre  
 Atria, nunc alios infrag supraq ferentes  
 Insertoq gradus muris/& pariete tectos.  
 O/ego uos ne loquar lapides? disiectaq passim  
 Marmora marmoreiq gradus/de marmore crustæ?  
 Vos ne hipocausta canam tenues uoluentia fumos  
 Ipsa uel e pario constantia marmore? Quod si  
 Nunc quoq Barbaricæ starent commercia gentis:  
 Huc Paros/huc Nomades/& quis d marmoꝝ phama  
 Conulass traherent rupeꝝ hinc multa Columna  
 Staret porticibus: densumq per omnia marmoz  
 Atria: Tum citriæq trabes/ cædroq recisæ  
 Afflarent cameris: neq mallet barbarus usq  
 Arboribus saxiq suos decrescere montes.  
 Sic quoq Quum nullæ uectent externa carinæ/  
 Marmora conspiciamus late. quæ tu undiq cogis  
 Eruta seu terra/uectum seu fracta ruinis.  
 Hinc tua laus maior/ quod ditia paupere in æuo  
 Rura locas: quæ Rura colunt/mirantur & urbes.  
 Ac supera extulimus/ tanq non infera laudem  
 Sint habitura suam. Vos præteruisse nephandum  
 Inferni cultiq lares: Qui dulcia tantæ  
 Efferis facile & ridetis pondera uillæ.

**SUBVRBANVM AVGVSTINI  
CHISII RVVAERAE  
SENENSIS.**

ELLESPONTIACi Quisq; pomaria regles  
 Quisq; & Alcinoi uiridates florib; hortos  
 Tutatq; peruigili laudauit poma Dracone:  
 Iam fletat/priscosq; nonis addicat honores.  
 Ecce altum Italiz decus Augustinus/am cenos  
 Quales nulla etas hñum tulit/extruit hortos.  
 ¶ Vnde canam: Quā parte uager? Quo fine residam?  
 Phoebe mone seu tu potius/qui Carminis huius  
 Siluarūq; Papini autōr. nam nec sibi phœbus  
 Par sonet/& centum prestas hac laude Marones.  
 Tu minimum deprome tua mihi nectar ab urna:  
 Qui ueterum ornasti precioso carmine Villas:  
 Tu mihi pande uias/uirelq; in carmina fundes  
 Nec patiare meam cernere aut arescere siluaz.  
 ¶ Est ultra/ supraq; Tibrim/sub uertice Iani/  
 Septimiana loci regio: Quo & nomine Porta  
 In uaticanium per littora tiberidis effert:  
 Hic nitidum confurgit opus: huc adfluit omnis  
 Spectatum Roma: huc Inuenes/ pueriq; senesq;  
 Vt Quondam Iliacos subiit dum machina muros/  
 Ad troiam fecere/ruunt. stupet ille decorē  
 Rurishic a cultu murorum diuite pender.

**B**

Porticus in superas amor est nunc scandere partels.  
 Nunc iterum labi e superis/infracq reuerti:  
 Nunc iuuat ad superos iterum /supraq referri.  
 Nunc dufare aciem porrecta per ordine logo  
 Agmina portas: nunc & sibi se redētia pulchre atria  
 Atria. nunc alios infracq supraq ferentes  
 Insetosq gradus muris/ & pariete tectos.  
 O/ ego uos ne loquar lapides: diffictaq passim  
 Marmora Marmoreiq gradus/de marmore crustæ?  
 Vos ne hipocausta canam tenues uoluentia fumos  
 Ipsa uel e pario constantia marmore: Quod si  
 Nunc quoq Barbaricæ starent comercia gentis:  
 Huc pos/huc nomades/& queis de marmore phama est  
 Conulsas traherent rupes.hinc multa Colūna  
 Staret porticibus: densumq per omnia marmor  
 Atria: Tum citrixq trabes/cædroq recisæ  
 Afflarent cameris: neq mallet barbarus usq  
 Arboribus saxisq suos decrefcere montes.  
 Sic quoq Quum nullæ uectent externa carinæ/  
 Marmora conspiciamus late. que tu undiq cogis  
 Eruta seu terra/ ueterum seu fracta ruinis.  
 Hinc tua laus maior/qd ditia paupere in æuo  
 Rura locas: que Rura colunt/mirantur & urbes.  
 At supera extulimus/tanq non infera laudem  
 Sint habitura suam. Vos præterisse nephandum  
 Inferni cultiq lares: Qui dulcia râtæ  
 Esfercis facile/& ridetis pondera uillæ

Pl. 6



**Villa Farnesina façade**

Foto dell'Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione — Roma —  
ser. E. 57353. Courtesy of the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali,  
Roma.

Pl. 7



16th-century sketch of the Villa seen from the Tiber, after flooding had ruined some of the gardens and garden structures. By permission of Courtauld Institute Galleries, London (Witt Collection N° 4642R).

C.J. CLASSEN

## CICERO ORATOR INTER GERMANOS REDIVIVUS, II

*Bernhardo Lohse  
amico carissimo  
doctissimoque*

In 1988 I published an article on the development of Ciceronian studies in Germany during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with special reference to Cicero's speeches and their use for rhetorical purposes. I tried to show how these studies differed from those in Italy in so far as they began only after the invention of printing, how they differed from those in France, because in Germany there was no centre like Paris, but rather a number of smaller universities with comparable activities, and how they differed from those in Spain in so far as the majority of the German 'humanistic' scholars turned away from the Catholic Church and joined the Protestant movement<sup>1</sup>.

Lack of space forced me to concentrate on the beginnings up to the publication of the first commentaries on Ciceronian speeches by Jakob Locher (Reutlingen: 1517), Bartholomaeus Latomus (Cologne: 1528), Philipp Melanchthon (Wittenberg and Hagenau) and Christoph Hegendorff (Hagenau), both in 1529, and Martin Boler (Strasbourg: 1530) to whom Johannes Sturm should be added<sup>2</sup>. Without pursuing the further development I merely added a few remarks on some scholars who seemed to me to represent characteristic features at the end of the century: Melanchthon's pupil Albert Lenicer, Sturm's pupil Melchior Junius and Pierre de la Ramée's opponent Bartholomaeus Keckermann. In this paper my purpose is to fill the gap by giving a brief sketch of four of the five mentioned above, Latomus, Melanchthon,

<sup>1</sup> "Cicero orator inter Germanos redivivus", *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 37 (1988), 79-114; see also my paper "Cicerostudien in der Romania im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert", in: G. Radke (ed.), *Cicero, ein Mensch seiner Zeit* (Berlin 1968), pp. 198-245.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. "Cicero orator ...", p. 108.

Sturm and Hegendorff together with their most important contemporaries and pupils.

Locher and Latomus, Melanchthon, Sturm and Hegendorff had several things in common. First they were all directly or indirectly influenced by the educational ideals which had their origin in the *devotio moderna*, the movement of the Brethren of the Common Life. For though the emphasis of this movement on practical piety did not favour and encourage intellectual activity and the study of books, the ethical concern of its members seems to have aroused the interest e.g. of Gerard Grote in such classical authors as Cicero and Seneca<sup>3</sup>. However, it was Rudolf Agricola who, after learning to see the *studia humanitatis* in a new light during his long stay in Italy, gave further impetus to the growing 'humanistic movement' in the North, in his country Frisia as well as in the Low Countries in general and in Upper Rhineland with the old university of Heidelberg (founded in 1386), where Agricola had taught briefly, and with the new foundations of Freiburg (1457), and Basel (1459), in an area, where Peter Luder (Heidelberg), Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg (Basel, Freiburg, Strasbourg), Jakob Wimpfeling (Freiburg, Heidelberg, Strasbourg, Basel, Schlettstadt), Pallas Spangel (Heidelberg) and others had been active or still advocated the new ideas, as did Desiderius Erasmus in Basel, and where Jakob Locher (Basel, Freiburg), Bartholomaeus Latomus (Freiburg) and Philipp Melanchthon (Heidelberg) received their university education<sup>4</sup>.

Erasmus, also influenced by the Brethren of the Common Life, published his important and influential *Ciceronianus* in Basel in 1528,

<sup>3</sup> See G. Epiney-Burgard, *Gerard Grote (1340-1384) et les débuts de la dévotion moderne* (Wiesbaden 1970), esp. p. 33 and most recently in general ead., "Die Wege der Bildung in der Devotio Moderna", in: H. Boockmann et al. (edd.), *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Abh. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, Philos. Histor. Kl., 3. F. 179 (Göttingen 1989), pp. 181-200, esp. 183-185 (with further literature).

<sup>4</sup> On R. Agricola, see the comprehensive bibliography in F. Akkerman and A.J. Vanderjagt (eds.), *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444-1485)* (Leiden 1988), pp. 313-344, on the same, Peter Luder, Jakob Wimpfeling and Jakob Locher see "Cicero orator ...", pp. 84-85; 87-96; 103-106, on Johann Geiler von Kaysersberg H. Kraume, in: *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon 2* (1980), pp. 1141-1152; on Pallas Spangel see K. Hartfelder, *Philipp Melanchthon als Praeceptor Germaniae* (Berlin 1889), pp. 18-34 and W. Maurer, *Der junge Melanchthon zwischen Humanismus und Reformation I/II* (Göttingen 1967-1969), I, pp. 23-25. For Erasmus' *Ciceronianus* cf. the editions by A. Gambaro (Brescia 1965) and P. Mesnard, *Opera Omnia D. Erasmi I 2* (Amsterdam 1971), pp. 581-710; for the most recent bibliography on Erasmus see H. Holeczek in: W. Killy (ed.), *Literaturlexikon 3* (1989), p. 273-281.



i.e. in the very year, when Bartholomaeus Latomus edited his first commentary on a Ciceronian speech. When I venture to include Erasmus and Latomus together with Agricola here, I am not claiming that they were Germans, but only stressing that they have to be seen together with the scholars of German origin with whom they constantly exchanged their ideas, whom they influenced and by whom they were influenced; not only were their tractates published together, Agricola speaks of *nostra Germania* and Latomus gives German equivalents for many Latin phrases in his commentary on Terence<sup>5</sup>. Hegendorff is the only German author of an early commentary on a speech by Cicero who studied elsewhere, in Leipzig, the university which earlier saw the activities of Konrad Celtis, who lectured there briefly, and of Paulus Navius, Petrus Aeolicus, Andreas Epistates, Georgius Coellius and Henricus Tulichius who all edited Ciceronian speeches (without commentaries), thus making texts available for lectures or personal study<sup>6</sup>. Moreover, Hegendorff was taught in Leipzig (together with Joachim Camerarius) by Petrus Mosellanus, a pupil of Hermannus Buschius and Johannes Caesarius, both themselves pupils of Alexander Hegius of Deventer<sup>7</sup>.

The second factor which the five commentators have in common with each other and with Erasmus is that they all wrote rhetorical manuals also. This seems to me as important as the contemporaneous publication of the *Ciceronianus* (1528) in which Erasmus rejected and denounced the slavish imitation of Cicero's style by the Ciceronians while emphasizing the need to combine "*summam illius viri facundiam cum Christiana pietate*" (epist. 1948). Thus two or three questions arise: With what intention and purpose in mind did the early German scholars write their commentaries on the speeches of Cicero? What did they actually explain or try to elucidate? To what extent did they pay

<sup>5</sup> Cf. "Cicero orator ..." p. 80 and 87-88 with note 18; and *P. Terenti Afri comoediae* (Venice 1546) fol. 79<sup>v</sup> *ad Eun.* 635 "diverticulum: Deflexus viae ad Villam Vuescheid"; fol. 82<sup>v</sup> *ad Eun.* 683 "quia varia veste: id est, Gedeylt"; *ad Eun.* 689 "colore mustelico: Flavo, bleychgeel, ad similitudinem mustelae".

<sup>6</sup> On K. Celtis see now (with the most recent bibliography) D. Wuttke in: W. Killy (ed.), *Literaturlexikon* 2 (1989), pp. 395-400; on the other teachers in Leipzig see "Cicero orator ..." p. 107 with notes 112-116.

<sup>7</sup> On P. Mosellanus see M. Erbe, in: P.G. Bietenholz — Th. B. Deutscher (edd.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I/III (Toronto 1985-1987), II, pp. 466-467; on H. Buschius and J. Caesarius: I. Guenther, *ibid.* I pp. 233-234 and 238-239, on A. Hegius: C.G. van Leijen-horst, *ibid.* II, p. 173.



attention to or even accept the position of the Ciceronians, to what extent did they display an interest in rhetorical problems?

I am beginning with Latomus. For he was the first, after Agricola and Locher, to publish a commentary on a speech by Cicero in Germany, in Cologne where he was teaching at the time; and he was probably also the most productive author of such works with the possible exception of François Dubois (Sylvius)<sup>8</sup>. However, Latomus does not seem to have established a school either in Cologne or later in Paris, as did Melanchthon at the same time in Wittenberg. Apart from theological works commentaries on philosophical and rhetorical works by Cicero and on his speeches, on Terence's comedies and on two speeches in Livy issued from his pen as well as poems, speeches and letters of his own. In 1530 Latomus published an epitome of Rudolf Agricola's *De inventione dialectica*, which became extremely popular, three years earlier George of Trebison's *De re dialectica* with a very full commentary and a rhetorical manual *Summa totius rationis disserendi uno eodemque corpore et dialecticas et rhetoricas partes complectens*, in which he combined the teaching of Aristotle (e.g. for the *praedicamenta*), of Cicero (for the *loci communes* and the *argumentatio*) and of Quintilian with that of George of Trebison, Lorenzo Valla, Rudolf Agricola (*affectus*) and Melanchthon (*genus scholasticum*). Here, the ancient tradition and the fruits of the new 'humanistic' interest both from Italy and the North were absorbed together.

In the following year (1528) Latomus' annotated edition of Cicero's speech *pro Milone* appeared, i.e. what he called the *expositio artificii et pleraeque adnotationes* of the speech to which Locher had devoted his first full length commentary in 1518 and the French scholar François Dubois another long commentary only two years before and which the first Italian commentator, Antonio Loschi, had also selected for explanation at the beginning of the fifteenth century<sup>9</sup>. However, Latomus does

<sup>8</sup> On B. Latomus see I. Guenther and P.G. Bietenholz in: *Contemporaries of Erasmus* II, pp. 303-304 and L. Bakelants (ed.), *Latomus. Deux discours inauguraux* (Brussels 1951), pp. 5-12 and id. in: *Bibliotheca Belgica*, livr. 227-228 (Brussels 1963), L 704 who lists Latomus' publications in livraisons 227-240; on F. Dubois see M.-M. de la Garanderie in: *Contemporaries of Erasmus* I, p. 408.

<sup>9</sup> On Loschi see D. Girsensohn, "Antonio Loschi und Baldassarre Cossa vor dem Pisaner Konzil von 1409", *Italia Medioevale e umanistica* 30 (1987), pp. 1-93; on his commentaries 68-70 which he attributes to Loschi's time in Milan (before 1403); they were published first in Venice 1477; for J. Locher see "Cicero orator ..." p. 106, for F. Dubois' first edition see B. Moreau (ed.), *Inventaire chronologique des éditions Parisiennes du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle I/III* (Paris 1972-1985), p. 284 nr. 953; the text of all these commentaries on

not merely follow his predecessors, but shows a considerable degree of independence. Naturally, in the *argumentum* with the account of the facts and remarks on *status* and *partes orationis* parallels may be found with other *argumenta*. But whereas Loschi had been content with comments on the rhetorical function of each section without concerning himself with single words and Locher has notes on particular phrases, explaining proper names or technical terms, rhetorical figures or types of arguments, Sylvius is much more verbose both in his introduction and in his notes, some of which give linguistic, factual or rhetorical explanations of particular expressions while others adduce parallels from other speeches or grow into longer reflections on particular rhetorical problems. Latomus follows his own course. He begins with an *argumentum* as all commentators do; but he is more informative than Loschi and Locher and more concise than Sylvius. In the commentary itself he is anxious throughout to assist the reader as much as he possibly can in understanding the text in all details, i.e. the subject matter, the words, the grammar, but also the rhetorical function of each expression, of each figure, of each sentence and of each section and the structure of the whole, without diverting his attention from the text by citing other speeches or discussing general problems. He gives factual information as well as synonyms, he explains stylistic devices<sup>10</sup> and their function as well as the intention of whole sentences<sup>11</sup> and makes the reader appreciate both the choice of words, the selection of arguments and the order in which the whole is presented. In his introduction he emphasizes that after expounding the rhetorical theory (in his *Summa*) he thought it useful to show the application of the precepts in a model speech: “*non quod totum artificium eius aperire me posse putarem, sed quod existimabam cum Fabio optima quaeque propo-*

*pro Milone* may be found in *In omnes M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes, quot quidem extant, doctissimorum virorum enarrationes* ... (Basel 1553), I, col. 1611-1636 (Loschi), 1636-1642 (Locher), 1642-1704 (Dubois), 1705-16 (Melanchthon), 1716-1737 (Latomus).

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *In omnes ... enarrationes*, I, col. 1716-1737. Factual information: on “qui hesternae etiam (§3): Hanc concionem habuit Munatius Plancus contra Milonem”; synonyms: “minimeque deceat (§1): id est, decorum sit”; stylistic device and function: “non usitata (§1): iteratio eiusdem verbi et sententiae: idque oratorie. eandem enim rem saepe commutatis efferunt ad amplificationem”; “tamen ne non (§2): Repetit particulam Tamen, cum sensu praecedentis membri, propter Παρένθεσιν, ut sit dilucidior oratio, sitque plenus ordo”; “Quorum clamor (§3): Bona inversio, qua ita Clodianorum metum removet, ut commendet Milonem” (col. 1718).

<sup>11</sup> “non enim (§1): Aetiologia, qua subiungit rationem, et explanat quod dixit”; “sed me recreat (§2): Correctio, et obiter laudat Pompeium” (col. 1718).

*nenda esse et in iis exerceri oportere*"<sup>12</sup>. Clearly, his main purpose is to instruct, to teach others how to compose a speech by analysing an exemplary specimen and by explaining its details, the facts, the grammar, the language, but especially the *artificium*, i.e. each move in the rhetorical strategy: the selection of topics and their function, the arguments and their nature, the stylistic devices and their effect.

Several years later, after Latomus had been appointed professor of Latin eloquence at the newly founded Collège royal he delivered an inaugural lecture *de studiis humanitatis* (in 1534), and an introductory lecture to his course on Cicero's *Verrines* in the following year *de laudibus eloquentiae* which shed further light on his views and aims<sup>13</sup>.

In the first lecture he emphasizes the formative value of the *studia humanitatis*: the aim is not to become acquainted with classical antiquity, but to develop a critical faculty, to acquire the ability to speak clearly and elegantly and to reason convincingly; and he argues against those who denounce this kind of training on behalf of the Christian religion by stressing the importance of the knowledge both of the classical languages and the means to interpret literary texts for the right understanding of the Bible and the writings of the Christian fathers. The second lecture dwells more specifically on the fundamental importance of eloquence for the life of a community, which he demonstrates by a series of historical examples, illustrating its value for the maintenance of law and order, for the administration of a state and in general for any kind of instigating, advising, appeasing, comforting, threatening, reproaching, exculpating, entreating or defending<sup>14</sup>. Latomus encourages his young pupils to devote all their energy and care to acquire the art of speech, pointing to its value for lawyers and preachers, rulers, politicians, ordinary citizens and scholars, in short for all who prepare themselves for an activity in public life or in the world of

<sup>12</sup> Quoted from *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 232-233 livr. (Brussels 1965), C 933.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 227-228 livr. (Brussels 1963), L 714 and 715; see also for the first speech the edition of L. Bakelants (above note 8), pp. 18-39, for the second *In omnes ... enarrationes* (following the *praefatio*, no pagination).

<sup>14</sup> "Iam vero hortari, monere, placare, consolari, minari, accusare, purgare, petere, defendere, sicut in omni vitae usu magnam commoditatem obtinent: ita tantum habent ponderis, si rite fiant, etiam hodie in hac nostra consuetudine, ut non minus felicitatis consequantur, quam in amplissima quondam vel Atheniensium vel Romanorum civitate". For the following enumeration see the preceding sentences as well as the next one: "Quamobrem nullus labor remittendus est, iis praesertim qui se comparant vel ad rem publicam vel ad graviolem doctrinae professionem, quo minus si non perfecta, at saltem mediocri bene dicendi facultate polleant".

scholarship. What Latomus aims at is clear: to help the young to acquire a faculty which will make them more useful and qualified members of the community, better citizens or better scholars.

The next to publish Ciceronian speeches with explanations was Philipp Melanchthon<sup>15</sup> whose *scholia* on Cicero's four orations against Catiline are included (together with the text) in Ulrich Hutten's edition of Sallust's historical works (Hagenau 1529)<sup>16</sup>. Though Melanchthon may appear to be very similar to Latomus, he was different in more than one respect. About twelve years younger (born in 1497), he became familiar with 'humanistic' ideas at a very early age, both at school and through his family; for after the early death of his father (1507) he grew up in Pforzheim, the home of his maternal great-uncle Johannes Reuchlin who had considerable influence on the local Latin school. At the age of twelve he matriculated at the university of Heidelberg, and though none of the famous humanists taught there any longer, his teacher Pallas Spangel had been influenced by Rudolf Agricola, and Peter Günther whose lectures on rhetoric he attended was a friend of Jakob Wimpfeling. At the age of fifteen Melanchthon went to Tübingen where Heinrich Bebel had taught as professor of poetry and eloquence since 1496, an ardent advocate of the *litterae humaniores* and of good Latin, not necessarily Ciceronian Latin.

Melanchthon gave lectures on Virgil and Terence, later on Cicero and Livy, while also pursuing his own studies. A reading of Agricola's *de inventione dialectica* (published in 1515) made him study the ancient orators more carefully and methodically and pay more attention to their rhetorical technique<sup>17</sup>. His intention in studying and teaching rhetoric and in explaining and lecturing on Cicero's speeches may be gleaned from several declamations: *de artibus liberalibus* (delivered 1517 in Tübingen), *de corrigendis adolescentiae studiis* (delivered 1518 in Wittenberg) and *encomium eloquentiae* (1523), from his rhetorical manuals (1519; 1521; 1531) and from the commentaries themselves, all

<sup>15</sup> A list of Melanchthon's publications is given by K. Hartfelder *loc. cit.* (see a. n. 4), pp. 579-620; the texts of the commentaries on Cicero's speeches are most easily accessible in C.G. Bretschneider et H.E. Bindseil (edd.), *Philippi Melanchthonis Opera I/XXVIII* (Halle 1834-1860), XVI, col. 889-1300 and XVII, col. 561-576.

<sup>16</sup> *Crispi Salusti Historici clarissimi, in Catilinam Atque Jugurtham opuscula, per Hulderichum Huttenum Equitem, atque Philippum Melanchthonem Scholijs ut brevissimis, ita doctissimis illustrata* (Hagenau 1529); reprinted in: *Opera XVII*, col. 561-576. The *scholia* are brief, mostly rhetorical, but sometimes also factual.

<sup>17</sup> See *Opera IV*, col. 716 and K. Hartfelder *loc. cit.* (note 4), p. 44; 60.

published after he had gone to Wittenberg where he gave courses on rhetoric in 1521, on one or several speeches by Demosthenes in 1524, 1525, 1526, 1527 (Jena), 1533, 1537, 1538 etc., on one or more speeches by Cicero in 1524, 1525, 1529, 1530, 1531, 1532, 1533, 1535, 1542 etc., on his rhetorical works in 1524, 1528, 1530, 1534, 1535, 1536, 1542, and on Quintilian in 1534<sup>18</sup>.

In his theoretical works Melanchthon defines rhetoric as “the art which teaches a method of speaking correctly and elegantly, i.e. with ornatus” (“*ars quae docet viam ac rationem recte et ornate dicendi*”)<sup>19</sup>; but he stresses also that the rules alone cannot turn anyone into an eloquent speaker. However, they help to understand and to appreciate the speeches and writings of others. This he regards as essential prerequisite when one endeavours to imitate them; and the careful study of models in the light and with the help of the theory, combined with a natural gift for speaking, a wide general education and a good deal of practice, is what he considers necessary for a successful speaker. To make the young realize the difficulties and the importance of acquiring such a faculty and to develop and to strengthen them in this manner is what he attempts to do in order to prepare them for their duties in the Church or in the public administration in the final version of his rhetorical handbook (published in 1531)<sup>20</sup>.

Two further points need to be emphasized: First he stresses that the writings of the classical authors teach *recte dicendi iudicandique facultas*, and that their content is as educative as their form. Secondly, like Latomus, he defends the *studia humanitatis* against those who criticize them on religious grounds. But in addition he points to the duties that may await his pupils in the Church, stresses the need for theologians to be able to expound the Christian doctrine clearly, and includes many examples from the Bible, especially the epistles of St. Paul, thus

<sup>18</sup> A list of Melanchthon's lectures is given by K. Hartfelder *loc. cit.* (see note 4), pp. 555-566; for the three lectures here mentioned see *Opera* XI, col. 1-14; 15-25 and 50-66 or R. Nürnberger (ed.), *Melanchthons Werke* III. *Humanistische Schriften* (Gütersloh 1961), pp. 17-28; 29-42 and 43-62.

<sup>19</sup> *Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo* (Wittenberg 1531, edition here used 1536), fol. A 6 recto (= *Opera* XIII, col. 419).

<sup>20</sup> See the dedicatory letter and the introduction: fol. A 4<sup>r</sup> - 4<sup>v</sup> and A 5<sup>r</sup> - A 6<sup>v</sup> (= *Opera* II, col. 544 and XIII col. 416-419); cf. further H. Scheible, “Melanchthons Bildungsprogramm”, in: H. Bookmann et al. (edd.), *Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit*, Abh. Ak. Wiss. Göttingen, Phil. Hist. Kl., 3. F. 179 (Göttingen 1989), pp. 233-248, esp. 240-242.

addressing his work as much to future preachers as to future teachers, lawyers or administrators<sup>21</sup>.

When one turns, thus prepared, to Melanchthon's commentaries on speeches by Cicero, one soon becomes aware that in addition to what he published himself, the loyalty of his pupils has preserved much of what he said in his lectures. To put it differently, it is possible to distinguish between what he considered to be important and useful for those who studied Cicero's speeches on their own (or lectured on them), and what he felt he should explain at length and in greater detail to his pupils. In the editions which he himself prepared and provided with explanatory material<sup>22</sup>, one finds a *dispositio* (also called *artificium*), a paraphrasis and also *scholia* (*artificium*), that is: a careful and thorough account of the facts with a detailed analysis of the *argumentatio*, a longer or shorter reproduction of the speech (or part of it) in Melanchthon's own words, and a few marginal notes on particular rhetorical figures or devices. However, in the *scholia* either *ex ore praelegentis excepta* or *dictata* which were published later<sup>23</sup>, he gives many detailed comments on textual problems, on the subject matter, on particular phrases as well as on rhetorical figures or the function of particular arguments or the intention or the structure of a whole passage. Yet here, too, he does not seem to be concerned with the imitation of Cicero's style. In the *dispositio* of the speech for the poet Archias, probably the first to be published separately (1533) by Melanchthon, he stresses<sup>24</sup>: "Anyone who will consider the order of all

<sup>21</sup> *Necessarias esse ad omne studiorum genus artes dicendi ... declamatio* (later called *Encomium eloquentiae*) (first published Hagenau 1523, = *Opera* XI, col. 50-55, here quoted from *Werke* III) p. 54; Melanchthon frequently stresses the interdependence of the two: cf. p. 50; 55; 60, also 49, where he speaks of "*bene dicere*", see also p. 54; 56 and *Element. Rhet.* (1531 = 1536) f. A 5<sup>v</sup> and A 4<sup>r</sup>; for the justification see *Encomium* p. 57, further the chapter "de sacris concionibus" in *De Rhetorica libri tres* (Wittenberg 1519, here quoted from edition Basel 1519), pp. 103-107, for the duties in the Church see e.g. *Element. Rhet.* (1531 = 1536), f. A 4<sup>r</sup>; examples from St. Paul *ibid.* f. B 8<sup>r</sup>; C 2<sup>r</sup>; C 4<sup>v</sup>; D 1<sup>v</sup> etc., also in *De rhetorica libri tres* pp. 30; 33; 35; 46-47 etc.

<sup>22</sup> *Pro Archia* (Hagenau 1533); *Pro Marcello* (Wittenberg 1533); *Pro Milone* (Hagenau 1535); *Pro Caecina* (*scholia*) and *Pro Ligario* (*Commentariolus*) both first published in *In omnes ... enarrationes* (Basel 1553).

<sup>23</sup> For "*scholia Philippo Melanchthone praelegente excepta*" see: *In omnes M. Tullii Ciceronis orationes ... Lucubrationes* (Basel 1539), col. 95-102 (*pro Roscio Amerino*), col. 489-504 (*pro Murena*), col. 575-589 (*pro Sulla*), col. 813-820 (*pro Caelio*); further *In selectiores M.T. Ciceronis orationes Philippi Melanchthonis, Ioannis Velcurionis aliorumque doctissimorum virorum ... enarrationes* I/II (Leipzig 1568 and 1574).

<sup>24</sup> *Dispositio orationis quam pro Archia poeta Cicero habuit, iam primum a Philip. Mel. aedita* (Hagenau 1533), f. A III<sup>r-v</sup>: "Primum enim voluntatem uniuscuiusque (sic!)

the sentences and arguments and observe how they accord with each other will grasp the intention of each author; and when we have observed the method of joining arguments in the writings of others, we shall ourselves write what is more coherent. Such care in examining the order of a speech will, therefore, be most useful both for our imitation, and also for our judgment. For even if we do not intend to write anything, we cannot be without this method of judging the writing of others."

Thus Melanchthon's intention becomes very clear: He teaches his pupils to understand the texts of the ancient authors, the language, the grammar, the facts, the rhetorical figures in order to make them appreciate the structure of the whole and of its parts (what he calls the οἰκονομία, probably following Quintilian)<sup>25</sup> and thus to enable them to speak and write clearly and coherently themselves and to judge the writings of others. When he speaks of imitation, he means, as he points out in his *Elementorum rhetorices libri duo*<sup>26</sup> and as becomes clear from his commentaries, the structure of a speech as a whole and the argumentation as a unit, i.e. its sources, its carefully considered application and its coherence; and for this he recommends Cicero's speeches, as he recommends them as model for the structure of sentences or for the choice of words. But while he criticizes Poliziano's views like Erasmus, he does not share the position of the Ciceronians<sup>27</sup>: he allows

authoris, is demum recte adsequi poterit, qui seriem omnium sententiarum contemplabitur, et animadvertet quomodo inter se consentiant. Deinde cum in alienis scriptis rationem coniungendi sententias animadverterimus, scribemus et ipsi magis cohaerentia. Plurimum itaque prodest haec diligentia consyderandae dispositionis in oratione, tum ad imitationem tum etiam ad iudicandum. Nam etiamsi nihil scripturi sumus, tamen hac ratione iudicandi de alienis scriptis, carere non possumus"; see also the introduction to *Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo* (1531 = 1536), f. A 5<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>25</sup> This term, used in various senses by Greek rhetoricians (cf. Ch. Th. Ernesti, *Lexicon technologiae Graecorum rhetoricae*, Leipzig 1795, p. 229; D. Matthes, "Hermagoras von Temnos, 1904-1955", *Lustrum* 3 (1968), 111-114, esp. p. 113 n. 4, also J. Martin. *Antike Rhetorik* [Munich 1974], pp. 216-218) is not common in Latin writers, cf. J. Claassen, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* IX 2 [Leipzig 1968-1981], col. 476-478; for Quintilian see e.g. I 8, 17; VII 10, 11. It occurs frequently in Melanchthon's writings who may be indebted for it to Donatus' commentary on Terence's comedies on which he lectured early and which he edited in 1516 already (see K. Hartfelder, *op. cit.*, p. 555 and 579), for B. Latomus employs it often in his notes on Terence, not in those on Cicero.

<sup>26</sup> On "imitatio" see *Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo* (1531 = 1536), f. K 4<sup>v</sup> - L 8<sup>v</sup>, i.e. "imitatio" (with respect to "inventio" and "dispositio"), f. K 5<sup>r-v</sup>, "generalis imitatio elocutionis": f. K 5<sup>v</sup> - 7<sup>r</sup>, "specialis imitatio Ciceronianae compositionis": f. K 7<sup>r</sup> - L 2<sup>r</sup>, "compositio": f. L 2<sup>r</sup> - L 8<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> For his views on Poliziano see *Elementorum Rhetorices libri duo*, f. K 8<sup>v</sup> - L 1<sup>r</sup>.

not only Quintilian, Livy and Terence to stand beside Cicero, but even Plautus and Sallust, and this is reflected in his commentaries also. What matters to him is clarity of thought and perspicuity of expression; this is what he endeavoured to teach his pupils and what he succeeded in developing in them. And of pupils he had a great many<sup>28</sup>.

A full lecture would be necessary to give even only a rough idea of the vast influence of the *praeceptor Germaniae* on the life of the schools and universities in Germany in the sixteenth and also in the following century; and I am choosing the word 'life' deliberately, because it was due to Melanchthon, to his books and his teaching, the new regulations and *curricula* he devised for schools and universities, and the advice he gave to city councils and to the activities of his pupils that the educational system in Germany was transformed radically and invigorated by a new spirit. A new understanding and teaching of rhetoric, a new manner of reading and interpreting texts with the help of new commentaries and new rhetorical manuals was introduced and played a considerable part in instructing the youth, in developing their faculties and especially the ability to think, to write and to speak clearly, and thus in preparing them for a successful career in the administration of the state or in the service of a city or the Church.

The other great educator and reformer whose school became a very influential model was Johannes Sturm<sup>29</sup>. Born in Schleiden (Eifel) in 1507 and trained in Liège at a school founded by the Brethren of the Common Life and at the Collegium trilingue at Leuven, he taught in Paris from 1529-1537 rhetoric, before he was called to Strasbourg to teach the classical languages. Soon he was appointed rector of a new 'gymnasium' which he shaped after the school he had attended in Liège, and this new institution was so successful and became so famous that it was elevated to an academy by the emperor in 1566.

Apart from poems and speeches Sturm wrote educational works in which he evolved his ideas, and letters in which he explained his views and which were also meant as models for good style. For he was concerned about the poor quality of speaking and writing as well as the

<sup>28</sup> Even to list only those who were directly or indirectly influenced by Melanchthon and who edited speeches by Cicero, commented upon them or exploited them for rhetorical or educational purposes is beyond what may reasonably gathered in a footnote.

<sup>29</sup> Sturm's editions and publications are listed by J. Rott, *Investigationes historicae* (Strasbourg 1986), pp. 471-559; for literature on Sturm see Ch. H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: So-Z", *Renaissance Quarterly* 35(1982), 179-180.



religious instruction of the youth. The very carefully considered and constructed school system with a very elaborate and methodically arranged *curriculum* was designed to lead to *sapiens et eloquens pietas*<sup>30</sup>. To attain to this, he made the pupils read the classical authors and imitate their style, especially Cicero, but also others. In recommending them as models he stressed that not only their language, the particular words or phrases were to be copied, but also the speaker's ἔθος, his *consuetudo*, his general manner with which it is necessary to become familiar. At the same time he emphasized that the *artes* were to be learned not only because of their practical usefulness, but also because they shaped the character and that the mastery of language and rhetorical art had to be supplemented by wide knowledge<sup>31</sup>.

In accordance with these views Sturm wrote commentaries on Cicero's letters as the easiest pieces, on his rhetorical and some of his philosophical works and on a few speeches<sup>32</sup>. Two aspects characterize his comments: On the one hand he seems to adhere more closely than others to the ancient handbooks, especially Hermogenes whose works he also edited and translated into Latin, and for this reason he uses many Greek technical terms<sup>33</sup>. Secondly, in a good many cases he left it to his friend Michael Schütz (Toxites)<sup>34</sup> to write and publish the commentaries from his lecture-notes, and these are far more detailed than what Sturm printed himself. In the commentary on *pro Quinctio*, a speech Sturm had included in his *De amissa dicendi ratione* as a model

<sup>30</sup> Cf. A. Schindling, *Humanistische Hochschule und Freie Reichsstadt* (Wiesbaden 1977), p. 163; but see J. Rott, "Le recteur strasbourgeois Jean Sturm et les Protestants français", in: *Actes du colloque L'amiral de Coligny et son temps* (Paris 1974), p. 408: "Non content de prôner et d'enseigner la 'sapiens et eloquens pietas', il s'attache ... à mettre en pratique son idéal de l'éloquence ...".

<sup>31</sup> *De imitatione oratoria* (Strasbourg 1574, here quoted from F.A. Hallbauer (ed.), *Collectio praestantissimorum opusculorum de imitatione oratoria* [Jena 1762], pp. 341-798), pp. 360-377, see also the remarks on his educational aims in his edition *M.T. Ciceronis epistolarum quatuor* (Strasbourg 1560, here quoted from edition Goslar 1683), pp. 3-4, and A. Schindling *op. cit.* (s. a. n. 30), p. 175.

<sup>32</sup> For his editions and his commentaries on Cicero's works see J. Rott, *op. cit.*, (s.a.n. 29), pp. 481-489; 557.

<sup>33</sup> His editions of Hermogenes are also listed by J. Rott, *op. cit.* (s.a.n. 29), pp. 508; 518-520.

<sup>34</sup> On Toxites see *Historisch-Biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* 6 (Neuenburg 1931), p. 250; for his editions and commentaries see J. Rott, *op. cit.* (s.a.n. 29), pp. 353-354; 356-357, for further details see *In omnes ... orationes ... enarrationes* (see a.n. 9), I, col. 43: "Commentarius, ex scholis Ioannis Sturmii antemeridianis confectus" (also II, col. 42) and "Commentarius, ex scholis ... pomeridianis", I, col. 1253 (also col. 1400; 1852; II, col. 445; 536; 643).

(1538, reprinted 1542)<sup>35</sup>, Toxites gives several *exempla Sturmi* or *imitationis*, passages from Cicero used to express Sturm's ideas (1553: pp. 50-51; 56; 60; 74-76). Here the difference between Sturm and Melanchthon becomes obvious. While both are not primarily concerned to explain Cicero, but to teach their pupils, Melanchthon endeavours to make them appreciate the numerous ways in which the orator applies the rules and precepts in practice in order to enable them to master the theory and to use it likewise, whereas Sturm explains the oratorical practice to make the pupils understand the rules of the theory and, at the same time and more important, to prepare the pieces from the practice — whether epistle or speech — for immediate imitation. It is not surprising, therefore, that his pupil Valentinus Erythraeus<sup>36</sup> developed a somewhat mechanized technique of analysis by means of divisions and subdivisions in the form of tables, and his pupil and successor Melchior Junius<sup>37</sup> even chopped the whole corpus of Cicero's speeches into an endless number of *topoi* which he arranged meticulously in groups according to their function, thus providing a vast reservoir of ideas and phrases which did not and could not prove of practical use, as it was far too large and each *locus* and each phrase when taken out of its context lost its life, as it were.

The master called for imitation of words, phrases and *loci*, but also of the speaker's ἔθος, and he did so for the benefit of the religious education of the youth<sup>38</sup>. His pupils collected all the material available with all conceivable industry and arranged it with all possible diligence; but they took the life out of it, and thus Sturm's method was denied the

<sup>35</sup> *De amissa dicendi ratione libri duo* (Lyon 1542), pp. 10-44; comments on Cicero's use of the rhetorical precepts: pp. 57-59; 90-125. See also comments in *In omnes ... orationes ... enarrationes* (see a.n. 9) on *Philippica I* by Sturm, II, col. 430-434 and by Toxites *ex scholis Sturmi*, col. 445-456.

<sup>36</sup> See K. Halm, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 6 (Berlin 1877), pp. 333-334; Σχηματισμοί, hoc est Tabulae quaedam partitionum oratoriarum M.T. Ciceronis, et Quatuor dialogorum in easdem Ioannis Sturmi confectae (Strasbourg 1547); on Erythraeus' practice see A. Schindling, *op. cit.* (s.a.n. 30), p. 165 n. 3.

<sup>37</sup> *Resolutio brevis orationum M.T. Ciceronis secundum causarum genera, orationum partes, materias, ... instituta, ut dilatandae atque ampliandae orationis ratio ex ipsis Ciceronis exemplis appareat* (s.l. 1594); on Junius see A. Schindling, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 10 (1974), p. 690.

<sup>38</sup> See e.g. J. Sturm, *Linguae Latinae resolvendae ratio* (Strasbourg 1581), p. 18 (*in marg.*, cap. IV 2): "quomodo ex Cicerone ad religionem veram verba et formulae loquendi transferendae", and in general P. Mesnard, "The Pedagogy of Johann Sturm (1507-1589) and its Evangelical Inspiration", *Studies in the Renaissance* 13 (1966), 200-219.

success and the influence that Melanchthon's views enjoyed. However, of one of Sturm's pupils a little more has to be said here, even though he was French, because he developed a method of lasting influence and importance: Pierre de la Ramée<sup>39</sup>, whom Sturm had taught in Paris. De la Ramée became first known because of his severe attacks on the scholastic methods prevailing at the university of Paris at the time (whatever his views on Aristotle may have been). However, he was not content merely to criticize; he tried to replace the traditional logic by a new and simple one, a method which conjoined eloquence to philosophy. His aim was to develop all faculties in everybody to attain to truth, to defend it and to make the best possible use of it, and he devised an educational programme so that *disciplina non modo clariores, sed humanae vitae commodiores et utiliores efficiuntur*. The method of teaching dialectic and rhetoric was *imitatio*, that is, as he himself explains, *analysis* of existing works, and once the pupil knows how the rules are applied: *genesis*, i.e. production of one's own<sup>40</sup>.

With this scheme in mind, de la Ramée himself explained several of Cicero's speeches, the ten earliest ones (including the *Verrines*) and eight of those delivered during his consulate in 63 B.C.; only the latter were published<sup>41</sup>. In each case de la Ramée first gives a brief account of the facts (*argumentum*), before he explains both rhetorical figures and logical procedures (from the point of view of the *inventio* and of the *dispositio*). In summing up (e.g. at the end of his comments on the second agrarian speech<sup>42</sup>), he emphasizes that even if you had never before acquired any kind of rhetorical or logical competence, the Aristotelian principles of induction and observation would, if the

<sup>39</sup> P. de la Ramée's works are listed by W.J. Ong, *Ramus and Talon Inventory* (Cambridge Mass. 1958); for literature on him see Ch. H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors Pi-Sm" *Renaissance Quarterly* 33 (1980), 676-682.

<sup>40</sup> *P. Vergilii Maronis Georgica ... praelectionibus illustrata* (Paris 1556, here quoted from the edition Frankfurt 1578), *praefatio*, p. 14, and *Pro philosophica ... disciplina oratio* (Paris 1551, here quoted from the second edition Paris 1557), f. 12<sup>v</sup> - 13<sup>r</sup>; cf. P. Sharratt, "Ramus, philosophe indigné", *Bull. Ass. G. Budé* (1982), 200; 203, and in general W.J. Ong, *Ramus. Method, and the Decay of Dialogue* (Cambridge Mass. 1958).

<sup>41</sup> *Pro Rabirio* (Paris 1551), *De lege agraria* and *In Catilinam IV* (both separately Paris 1553) and all eight in: *In omnes ... enarrationes* (s.a.n. 9), (Basel 1553).

<sup>42</sup> *In omnes ... enarrationes* (s.a.n. 9), II, col. 951: "Nam si nullam umquam rhetoricam et logicam artem ante didicisses, tamen haec Aristotelis ἐπαγωγή καὶ ἱστορία ita retextis et rhetoricae elocutionis et topicae inventionis et analyticae dispositionis partibus magnam tibi utriusque artis informationem afferrent, cum in nobili praestantique exemplo omnium fere et rhetoricarum et logicarum virtutum tantam frequentiam tamque gratam videres".

elements of rhetorical elocution and invention of *topoi* and logical arrangement are thus unravelled, provide you with a great deal of knowledge of both arts, as you would see in an eminent and outstanding example such a large and welcome number of logical and rhetorical qualities. In explaining the speeches his aim is to make the students understand the rhetorical and logical techniques, but also to enable them to imitate and practise them themselves.

Some followed de la Ramée's example very closely, e.g. Johann Thomas Freigius<sup>43</sup> who wrote a very thorough commentary on all of Cicero's speeches, while others explained only some. One of them, Rudolf Hildebrand, a rather minor figure of some local importance, leads us on to another tradition. For he was a pupil of David Chytraeus, himself a pupil of Joachim Camerarius and also influenced by Melanchthon. As indicated above both Camerarius and Christoph Hegendorff<sup>44</sup> studied in Leipzig with Petrus Mosellanus, and while the former taught at Leipzig, Posen, Frankfurt (Oder) and Rostock, before finally dying as Superintendent in Lüneburg (rather early: 1540), the latter, after a brief spell in Wittenberg, where Melanchthon befriended him, taught at Nürnberg, helped to reorganize the university at Tübingen and became finally professor at Leipzig where he stayed till he died in 1574.

Hegendorff, also famous for a number of elementary school books and works on education published commentaries only on some of Cicero's speeches against Verres and Antonius<sup>45</sup>. He explains facts and words, often with reference to other ancient authors, matters of style and rhetorical figures with their intention as well as arguments with their function, but everything on a rather elementary level. The notes are a little longer than those of Latomus, but much more concise than what Toxites published from Sturm's lectures. What deserves attention is the moral aspect which Hegendorff stresses, e.g. in the introduction to the *Verrines*. He reminds the students that Cicero seems to follow

<sup>43</sup> J.A.R. von Stintzing, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 7 (1878), pp. 341-343; his edition with commentary was published in three volumes Basel 1583.

<sup>44</sup> See H. Grimm, *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 8 (1969), pp. 227-228; Ch. H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors G-K", *Renaissance Quarterly* 30 (1977), pp. 715-716; F. Bierlaire in: *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, II, pp. 171-172.

<sup>45</sup> *Dialogi pueriles* (Leipzig 1517), *Methodus conscribendi epistolas* (Hagenau 1526, later often with different title); *In Actiones Verrinas, Et in Topica M. Ciceronis adnotatunculae* (Hagenau 1529); *M.T. Ciceronis Philippicae ...* (Paris 1537, together with the commentaries of others).

Demosthenes' example (against Aristogeiton) and continues: "*observabit juvenis, quanta orbis pestis sit, si in hominem sceleratum, qualis Verres est, Magistratus incidat*"<sup>46</sup>. He also draws attention to the remarkable composition of the speech, the wealth of expressions, the pleasing variety of figures, the clear and rich accounts etc. Obviously, besides the rhetorical aspects, the content is important, as it contributes to the moral education of the youth.

Camerarius<sup>47</sup> followed a rather different line. In 1540 he published a complete edition of Cicero's works, the third to be printed in Basel after that of 1528 (Michael Bentinus — Cratander) and that of 1534 (Hervagen)<sup>48</sup>, thus making available a text of the author whose fundamental importance he had stressed two years earlier. For in his commentary on the first book of the *Tusculans* (Basel 1538) he had taken up the hotly debated problem of *imitatio* and introduced entirely new elements into the discussion of Ciceronianism. To him it was not simply a question *pro* or *contra* Cicero; he raised the general problem of the function of the model in the act of comprehension and demonstrated the assistance which the perfect language of a true model can offer to the mind while it is still searching and in the process of understanding and formulating or trying to formulate what it has understood; and he left no doubt that to him Cicero and his language, the product of a long development and carefully considered choice, appeared most suitable to assist anyone in recognizing truth and uprightness<sup>49</sup>.

However, in addition to his edition and his critical notes Camerarius also wrote a commentary on Cicero's speech *pro Murena* (Leipzig: 1542) which he considered one of the best and particularly suitable for

<sup>46</sup> *In omnes ... enarrationes* (s.a.n. 9), II, col. 31.

<sup>47</sup> See F. Stählin, in *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1957), pp. 104-105; Ch. H. Lohr, "Renaissance Latin Aristotle Commentaries: Authors C", *Renaissance Quarterly* 28 (1975), 696; I. Guenther in: *Contemporaries of Erasmus*, I, pp. 247-248.

<sup>48</sup> For a list of most of his works see F. Baron and M.H. Shaw, "The Publications of Joachim Camerarius", in: F. Baron (ed.), *Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574)* (Munich 1978), pp. 231-251 (not without errors and omissions); together with the edition he published *annotaciones* (Basel 1540 and Lyon 1540).

<sup>49</sup> *Commentariorum in M.T. Ciceronis Tusculanam primam ...* (Basel 1538), p. 19 ff., see esp. 55: "nisi quatenus a Cicerone haec, ut liberi a parentibus vitam, sic veritatem ac rectitudinem acceperit". On the whole question see H.-B. Gerl, "'De imitatione' von Camerarius. Die Wichtigkeit der Nachahmung für humanistische Anthropologie und Sprachtheorie", in: F. Baron and M.H. Shaw (s.n. 58), pp. 187-198.

imitation, as he stressed in one of his treatises on style<sup>50</sup>. His *explicatio* of the speech *pro Flacco* was published (in a collection of commentaries in Basel 1553) from notes taken during his lectures. In both cases one finds extensive explanations of the subject matter and of particular words, of rhetorical figures or of arguments and their special effects, but also general reflections on the methods of studying such a speech, on figures such as the antithesis, and especially on moral problems, sometimes suggested by a maxim Cicero refers to<sup>51</sup>. Characteristically he once describes a piece as “*ipsisque cum rebus tum verbis splendidus atque copiosus*”, and while of one passage he says “*exemplum bonae et disertae hoc est Ciceronianae orationis*”, suitable for *imitatio*, another serves him as starting point for a warning addressed to the studying youth to surpass the others and distinguish themselves. Clearly, as Camerarius points out in the introduction, he regards Cicero as “*solus dux ad eloquentiam*”<sup>52</sup>, but his works also as being rich in such thoughts “*quibus animi legentium ad honestatem et laudem virtutisque cultum incitarentur*”: Cicero as source of inspiration not only for clear thinking, arguing and writing, but also for moral conduct, for perfect behaviour. However, even though Camerarius did not neglect religious aspects in his pedagogical treatises and wrote a number of theological works (on some of which his friend Melanchthon gave lectures<sup>53</sup>), there seems to be no indication in the commentaries on Cicero’s speeches, that they or their interpretation might assist the young either in a more adequate understanding of the Bible or in leading a better, more Christian life.

During the long period of activity as university teacher Camerarius had, of course, many pupils of whom I mention only two here, Gregor Bersman<sup>54</sup> as author of commentaries on a good many Ciceronian

<sup>50</sup> *Elementa rhetoricae, sive capita exercitationum studij puerilis et stili, ad comparandam utriusque linguae facultatem* (s.l. 1541, here quoted from second edition Basel 1551), p. 281.

<sup>51</sup> See *In omnes ... enarrationes* (s.a.n. 9), I, col. 822-877 (*pro Murena*) and col. 1012-1063 (*pro Flacco*), general reflections: col. 822-827; also 829; 831; 833; 834; 851-852; figures: col. 842-844; moral problems: col. 877; 1018; maxime: 833-834.

<sup>52</sup> For the quotations and references see *In omnes ... enarrationes*, I, col. 842, 58-59; 831, 20-21; 852, 38-58; 822, 19-20; 834, 9-11.

<sup>53</sup> See K. Hartfelder *op. cit.*, p. 562.

<sup>54</sup> See F.A. Eckstein, in: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 2(1875), pp. 507-508; Bersman published commentaries on *pro Archia*, *pro Marcello*, *pro Milone* and the fourteen *Philippicae* in Zerbst in 1611.

speeches and David Chytraeus (1531-1600), also a friend and pupil of Melanchthon, in whose spirit he reformed the university of Rostock<sup>55</sup>. He deserves our attention here not because he published *Praecepta rhetoricae inventionis, illustrata* — very characteristically — *multis bonis et utilibus exemplis, ex Sacra Scriptura, et Cicerone, sumptis*, but because one of his pupils, Rudolf Hildebrand, published several commentaries on Ciceronian speeches, on *de lege Manilia* (1574), on the four orations against Catiline (1575, dedicated to Chytraeus), and on three other speeches (1580).

Hildebrand's example may help to illustrate and to understand how the various trends and tendencies which have been distinguished here — Latomus — Melanchthon — de la Ramée — Camerarius were amalgamated in the daily work of the school-masters in Germany and to what extent such a school-master was active and original himself. Hildebrand, who had attended school at Braunschweig, studied at Rostock and taught at Osnabrück and Hereford (after Lenicer had left) before returning to Braunschweig where he edited the commentaries, I have mentioned, for the use of the local Latin school. The text itself is taken from Latomus' edition; for the *Catilinarians* he also prints the *argumenta* of de la Ramée, but for the notes he consulted Melanchthon's *Erotemata dialecticae et rhetoricae* which he bought as a boy of sixteen in Lübeck, as his copy shows<sup>56</sup>. His aims seem to be inspired by Camerarius; for he describes Cicero as "*uberrimus omnium doctrinarum atque artium fons*"<sup>57</sup>. The reason why I am drawing attention to Hildebrand and his work is that in a copy of his edition of three of Cicero's speeches, preserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, there are some manuscript notes at the end which look like a *praefatio* with precepts for the reading and teaching of Cicero's speech *pro rege Deiotaro*. Whether these notes were taken by one of Hilde-

<sup>55</sup> See E. Wolf, in: *Neue Deutsche Biographie* 3 (1975), p. 254; the *Praecepta* were first published in Wittenberg in 1556.

<sup>56</sup> This (edition Leipzig 1559) has been preserved in the Herzog August Bibliothek at Wolfenbüttel.

<sup>57</sup> R. Hildebrand (ed.), *M.T. Ciceronis orationes tres pro. Sex. Roscio Amerino, de haruspicum responsis ... pro rege Deiotaro ...* (s.l. 1580), p. 7. The copy of this edition preserved in Wolfenbüttel has, at the end, the notes referred to in the text; their terminology is similar to that of Hildebrand and of his teacher Chytraeus, giving as aims of study *cognitio rerum* (σύνεσις) and *facultas bene dicendi* (δύναμις ἐρμηνευτική - following Thucydides II 60, 5 and Lucian, *hist. conscr.* 34); cf. D. Chytraeus, *De ratione discendi* (Wittenberg 1576), f. A 5<sup>r</sup> et saepius, and id., *Praecepta rhetoricae inventionis ...* (Wittenberg 1576), f. A 7<sup>r</sup>.

brand's pupils or are a draft by Hildebrand himself for another work I cannot say. But they show that all the commentaries I have considered here were published not to be laid aside and forgotten; they were put to practical use in teaching and in studying, and no doubt applied in the practice of preaching, of speaking and of writing.

This brief investigation was meant to fill the gap I had to leave in my earlier paper, and by an examination of the most important commentaries on Cicero's speeches written in the German speaking area (taken together with de la Ramée) to discover the most essential features in each of them, thus illustrating how different their approaches were in making use of Cicero's speeches for their teaching of rhetoric, how different their aims and correspondingly how different the aspects they emphasized.

Latomus tried to assist his readers in understanding each text in all its details, as he intended them to develop a critical faculty and to write and speak correctly and convincingly so that they may become more useful members of the community. Melanchthon was more concerned to make his pupils examine the works of others critically and to understand their structure as well as their style in the light of the rhetorical theory and to teach them thereby how to think clearly and to compose letters or orations effectively, whether in the service of the Church or of a secular authority. Johannes Sturm, on the other hand, laid more emphasis on imitation, that is he encouraged his pupils to study the model thoroughly and to follow closely the example set by it; in addition he advised them also to observe the speaker's ethos, thus stressing that the application of the rules deserves more attention than the rules themselves; and for this reason he also composed letters and other pieces as models himself. De la Ramée concentrated on the logical faculty which he endeavoured to develop in those he instructed through meticulous analysis of various kinds of works in the hope that they would apply it in their own speaking or writing; and the large number of pupils he had leaves no doubt that his method was effective. Of the last two Hegendorff paid more attention to the content of the speeches he commented on, as he wanted his pupils to derive moral lessons from them also, while Camerarius added yet another new dimension: According to him, the study of a carefully devised and clearly formulated model immediately leads the student to clarity of mind and that in turn to clear thinking, speaking and writing.

Different though the approaches, aims and methods of the various



commentators may be, all of them had one thing in common: The conviction that however much the acquaintance with the rules of rhetoric may contribute to the success of a speaker or writer, no one can afford to ignore the study of their application in actual speeches; and it is for this reason that Cicero's speeches, illustrated through the commentaries of the humanists and their handbooks, were destined to exercise great influence in the schools and universities in the sixteenth century and thereafter, though the following generations proved less original and less productive in their attempts to put to practical use the material offered by the great roman orator.

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Marc VAN DER POEL

AGRIPPA VON NETTESHEIM AND RHETORIC:  
AN EXAMINATION OF THE  
DECLAMATIO DE ORIGINALI PECCATO \*

Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim (1485-1535) is a puzzling figure in the history of Latin literature in the Renaissance. Today, he is perhaps best known for his work *De incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium*, written in 1526 and published in 1530<sup>1</sup>. This work is considered to form a contribution to the revival of ancient scepticism in the sixteenth century<sup>2</sup>. Furthermore, Agrippa is well known for a small number of writings on the hermetic tradition and occult philosophy. His major contribution to this field is a large survey of Renaissance magic, the *De occulta philosophia*. He finished a first version in 1510, when he was about 25 years old, then expanded and reworked it throughout his lifetime until finally, after a partial edition in 1531, the work was published in its definitive form in 1533<sup>3</sup>. Thirdly, Agrippa wrote a widely known brief feminist treatise, the *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*. It was written in 1509 and published in 1529<sup>4</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> Ch. Nauert, Jr., *Agrippa and the Crisis of Renaissance Thought* (Urbana 1965), pp. 98-99, 106, 209.

<sup>2</sup> R.H. Popkin, *The History of Scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (Berkeley 1979<sup>2</sup>), p. 25; Nauert 1965, passim.

<sup>3</sup> Nauert 1965, pp. 32-33; 112-113. F. Yates gives a full description of the contents of the work in *Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition* (London 1964), ch. VII "Cornelius Agrippa's survey of Renaissance magic", pp. 130-143.

<sup>4</sup> Nauert 1965, pp. 26-27; the treatise was published in the Antwerp edition of several small works, that also includes the *Declamatio de originali peccato* (Nauert 1965, p. 106); see note 14.

On account of *De occulta philosophia* and especially *De incertitudine*, Agrippa is generally considered to be an untypical figure of the Renaissance, a representative of the anti-rational and so-called anti-humanistic tradition that runs through the period<sup>5</sup>. This evaluation of Agrippa has been challenged by P. Zambelli in a number of articles, in which she shows that Erasmus' works influenced Agrippa's thinking. Consequently, she claims that he is indeed to be considered a humanist in the full sense of the word<sup>6</sup>.

An interesting aspect of this author that has hitherto not yet been studied in depth, much less taken into full consideration in a comprehensive evaluation of Agrippa's thinking, is the fact that some of his major works are rhetorical writings. For instance, Agrippa called his work on scepticism a *Declamatio*. The notion *declamatio* led one of the early translators of the work to the conviction that the treatise on scepticism is a paradox, that is, not a serious work. This opinion has found approval among some modern scholars<sup>7</sup>. Among the

<sup>5</sup> See mainly H. Haydn, *The Counter-Renaissance* (Gloucester, Mass, 1966), passim; Popkin 1979<sup>2</sup> (see above, note 2); Nauert 1965, pp. 185-186; 214-215; 297-298 ("skeptical tendencies").

<sup>6</sup> P. Zambelli, "C. Agrippa. Scritti inediti e dispersi pubblicati e illustrati", *Rinascimento* S. II, V (1965), 195-248; id., "Humanae litterae, verbum divinum, docta ignorantia negli ultimi scritti di E.C. Agrippa", *Giornale critico della filosofia italiana* XLVII (1966), 102-131; id., "Agrippa von Nettesheim in den neueren kritischen Studien und in den Handschriften", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 51 (1969), 264-295; id., "Corneille Agrippa, Erasme et la théologie humaniste", in: *Colloquia Erasmiana Turonensia* (Paris 1972), pp. 113-159.

<sup>7</sup> *Paradoxe sur l'incertitude, vanité et abus des sciences*, trad. du lat. de H.C. Agrippa, par L. Turquet, 1603; 1605 (= A.L. Caillet, *Manuel bibliographique des sciences psychiques ou occultes* (Paris 1912-1913) no. 89); *Paradoxe sur l'incertitude, vanité et abus des sciences*. Trad. en François. *Oeuvre qui peut profiter, et qui apporte merveilleux contentement à ceux qui veulent fréquenter les cours des grands seigneurs, et qui veulent apprendre à discourir d'une infinité de choses contre la commune opinion*, 1608 (= Caillet, no. 90) Among modern scholars the following are noteworthy: F. Mauthner, *Agrippa von Nettesheim. Die Eitelkeit und Unsicherheit der Wissenschaften und die Verteidigungsschrift* (München-Wien 1913, reprint ed. Wiesbaden 1969), introduction; D.P. Walker, who has studied the magical works of Agrippa, claims that *De incertitudine* is a rhetorical set-piece and that not all of its destructive scepticism is meant to be taken seriously (*Spiritual and Demonic Magic, from Ficino to Campanella* (London 1958), p. 90); W. Kaiser, *The Praisers of Folly* (Cambridge, Mass. 1963), pp. 35-50; B. Bowen, "Cornelius Agrippa's *De Vanitate*: Polemic or Paradox?", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 34 (1972), 249-256; E. Korkowski, "Agrippa as Ironist", *Neophilologus* 60 (1976), 594-605. See also the relevant literature cited by Popkin 1979<sup>2</sup>, p. 255, note 38. Compare the sound judgment of D.G. Morhof in the eighteenth century: "Neque pertinet ad hanc classem (i.e. scriptorum scepticorum) Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, cuius extat *de vanitate scientiarum* liber, doctus profecto et laboriosus. Voluit enim potius abusus et ineptias scientiarum

arguments that are formulated to support this view is the consideration that in his *Declamation*, Agrippa expresses doubt about the validity of all human arts and sciences, including occult philosophy, the very subject Agrippa consistently studied throughout his lifetime. Also, the pungent style used to formulate accusations against abuses in contemporary society is considered to be a typically rhetorical and especially declamatory element. One scholar has used the *Apologia* Agrippa wrote in defense of his *De incertitudine* after it had been attacked by the theologians of the university of Louvain, to point out that an element of fantasy is inherent to the humanist *declamatio* and that the *declamator* is free to show his talent in arguing and mingle fact and fiction, earnestness and jest, without committing himself to what he writes<sup>8</sup>.

The claim for lack of seriousness has also been made in the case of the brief feminist treatise. Although the author stresses the serious intention of this persuasive text in the dedicatory letter to Margaret of Austria, dating from 1509, the work has been termed a "declamation", in the sense of a literary trifle, in editions dating from the end of the sixteenth century onwards, both in the original Latin and in the numerous translations that were made<sup>9</sup>. Some modern students of the work claim the work is not to be taken seriously<sup>10</sup>.

Satyrico sale defricare, quam illas plane nihili esse, ostendere" (*Polyhistor philosophicus*, I,6 (ed. Lübeck 1747<sup>4</sup>, reprint ed. Aalen 1970), p. 31.

<sup>8</sup> J. Chomarat, *Grammaire et rhétorique chez Erasme* (Paris 1981), vol. 2, pp. 940-941. Chomarat follows closely the judgment of Bowen (see above, note 7) and Screech (see below, note 10).

<sup>9</sup> The dedicatory letter states: "... non tam studium fuit Rhetoricis figmentis officiosisque mendacis verba in laudes ornare, quam rem ipsam ratione, autoritate, exemplis, ipsisque sacrarum literarum, & utriusque iuris testimoniis commonstrare" (*Opera* (Lyons (?) 1600 (?), reprint ed. Hildesheim 1970) (referred to in the following as *Opera*), II, p. 503). In the two editions published during Agrippa's lifetime, that of Antwerp 1529 and that of Cologne 1532, the work is not called a "declamatio" (see below, note 14); the first time this element occurs in the title is, apparently, the *Opera*-edition. As to the translations, indications on the title page such as "anmuthiges und curieuses Tractätgen" (s.l., 1721), "Ouvrage joli et d'une lecture tout à fait agréable" (Leiden 1726) and "Vermaakelijk tractaat, waar in op een Satyrische en aangename wijze ondersogt en aangetoond werd" (Amsterdam, s.d.; 1733), seem to imply that in those days it was not considered to be a serious work.

<sup>10</sup> For instance M. Screech, "Rabelais, De Billon and Erasmus", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 13 (1951), p. 247, note 5, who finds support in his claim for lack of seriousness in the fact that, in the dedicatory letter to Maximilianus Transsylvanus, written prior to the publication of the treatise in 1529, Agrippa refers to his work as "pueritiae meae nugae" (*Opera*, II, p. 501). Also A. Prost, *Les sciences et les arts occultes au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle. Corneille Agrippa. Sa vie et ses œuvres* (Paris 1881-1882, reprint ed. Nieuwkoop 1965), vol. I, p. 161 ff; E.V. Telle, *L'œuvre de Marguerite d'Angoulême, reine*

The result of these often rather general remarks on the rhetorical nature of two important texts, made by a variety of scholars focusing on different aspects of Agrippa's works, is to increase the reader's sense of puzzlement. A thorough study of the rhetorical quality of Agrippa's work may therefore prove to be useful. For one thing, it would prompt substantial reflection upon a basic question with regard to *De incertitudine* and *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus*, that remains unanswered: Does the author mean what he writes, or doesn't he? Furthermore, such a study may provide some additional insight regarding the position of Agrippa in the world of humanism and thus nuance to our view of the public *orator* at Metz (1518-1520)<sup>11</sup>, the learned scholar quoting abundantly from classical sources, and, the supposed follower of Erasmian biblical humanism, focusing on *littera* and *simplicitas* of the New Testament. For indeed, in the course of an assessment of the rhetorical quality of Agrippa's work not only should the form of a particular text be analyzed, but one should also examine the thematic relation between different texts and, if possible, the function of each text in the intellectual community.

So far, no mention has been made of a small number of works by Agrippa, that are equally meant to be read as rhetorical texts. Among these works figure titles such as *De originali peccato disputabilis opinionis declamatio* (1518), *De sacramento matrimonii declamatio* (1526), *Sermo de vita monastica* (date unknown) and *Dehortatio gentilis theologiae* (1526). In fact, it would seem that a large part of Agrippa's works have a persuasive character, that is often implied *expressis verbis* in the title. This observation constitutes an additional reason to claim that rhetoric in the work of Agrippa is a topic that deserves some attention.

The present article contains an exploration of some relevant questions that could usefully be addressed in the case of the *Declamatio disputabilis opinionis de originali peccato*. This short work was probably written in 1518, at the end of Agrippa's long stay in Italy<sup>12</sup>. It is the older of the two works that Agrippa himself called "declamatio"<sup>13</sup>. Its

*de Navarre et la querelle des femmes* (Toulouse 1937, reprint ed. Genève 1969), p. 45 ff.; I. Maclean, *The Renaissance Notion of Woman. A Study in the Features of Scholasticism and Medieval Science in European Intellectual Life* (Cambridge 1980), pp. 80; 91.

<sup>11</sup> Agrippa was a gifted public speaker, as is clearly illustrated by *Epist.* I, 15-18 (*Opera*, II, pp. 614-616), a series of letters to be dated in or around 1509.

<sup>12</sup> Nauert 1965, pp. 49, 58 and note 5.

<sup>13</sup> The dedicatory letter to Theodorich Wichwael states: "Edidi itaque breuem et compendiosam declamationem opinionis meae..." (*Opera*, II, p. 550).

rhetorical nature is therefore unquestionable and its intention problematic mainly in view of the diverging interpretations of the notion *declamatio* in Agrippa's well known work on the uncertainty and vanity of arts and sciences. It was published in an edition, printed at Antwerp in 1529, that collected a number of Agrippa's short treatises<sup>14</sup>.

During the time that Agrippa lived and worked in Italy (1511-1518), he greatly developed his knowledge of the Hermetic tradition, that was studied in depth by the school of Marsilio Ficino. Agrippa was especially interested in the *Corpus Hermeticum*, a collection of fifteen Greek dialogues dating, as we know today, from the first centuries A.D. and containing, in the words of F. Yates, "popular Greek philosophy of the period, a mixture of Platonism and Stoicism, combined with some Jewish and probably some Persian influences."<sup>15</sup> In 1515, Agrippa gave public lectures at the University of Pavia on the *Corpus Hermeticum*, which was known in the 15th and 16th centuries under the name *Pimander*, the title of the first dialogue<sup>16</sup>. The inaugural lecture to this course survives<sup>17</sup>. It reflects the Ficinian approach to the *Corpus Hermeticum* as the expression of the *prisca theologia*, placing it in the times of Moses and describing its author as a philosopher and prophet, and the inventor of theology<sup>18</sup>.

"Theology", or the study of sacred letters, was a field that formed a major topic of interest for Agrippa during his earlier years, and for that matter his entire life. *De occulta philosophia*, the treatise on which he

<sup>14</sup> *De nobilitate et praecellentia foeminei sexus...Expostulatio cum Joanne Catilineti super expositione libri Joannis Capnionis de verbo mirifico. De sacramento matrimonii declamatio...de triplici ratione cognoscendi Deum...Dehortatio gentilis theologiae...De originali peccato disputabilis opinionis declamatio...regimen adversus pestilentiam...Sermones duo, de vita monastica, et de inventione reliquiarum divi Anthonii eremitaе, s.l. (Coloniae) 1532. (The copy in the Univ. Library of Amsterdam, 2378 c 25, was consulted. This edition is almost an identical reprint of the first edition, Antwerp 1529; see Prost 1881-1882 (see above, note 10), vol.1, pp. 42-43 and bibliography, vol. 2, pp. 526; 530).*

<sup>15</sup> Yates 1964 (see above, note 3), p. 3.

<sup>16</sup> *Pimander* is the title of Ficino's translation of the entire *Corpus* (Yates 1964, p. 20).

<sup>17</sup> *Oratio, habita Papiæ in praelectione Hermetis Trismegisti, de potestate et sapientia Dei (Opera, II, pp. 1089-1101; edited with notes by P. Zambelli in E. Garin a.o., edd., Testi umanistici su l'ermetismo (Roma 1955) (henceforth referred to as Zambelli, Testi), pp. 119-136).*

<sup>18</sup> Zambelli, *Testi*, pp. 122-124. For a brief sketch of Ficino's attitude to the *Hermetica* and its influence throughout the Renaissance, see Yates 1964, pp. 16-17. See for a useful survey of the *prisca theologia* D.P. Walker, *The Ancient Theology* (London 1972).

worked throughout his life, assumes the existence of a divine Creator who descends through and thus influences each of the three worlds — the elemental world, the celestial world and the intellectual world — that constitute the universe<sup>19</sup>. Man is created after the image of God and forms a microcosm, which reflects the macrocosm that constitutes the universe<sup>20</sup>. As Nauert remarks in his survey of Agrippa's readings, the work is full, both in its earlier and in its later version, of citations from various sources, including Neoplatonists, the Hermetic writings, classical authors, Church Fathers and Scripture<sup>21</sup>. In a polemic work dating from 1519, to which we shall refer occasionally, Agrippa grants that he does not possess an official degree in theology, but he nonetheless claims the right to be taken seriously by theologians, since he feels he has contributed substantially to the field. To illustrate this claim, he gives an impressive account of all his contributions to the study of "sacrae litterae". Among these contributions figure his public lectures on Reuchlin's *De verbo mirifico* at the University of Dôle, his study of the letters of St. Paul during a stay with John Colet in England, the quodlibetical disputations on theological topics which he delivered at the University of Cologne, public lectures in theology given at the university of Turin and a number of works among which figure "Commentaria in Trismegistum" and, incidentally, the Declamation on original sin<sup>22</sup>. This testimony clearly illustrates that for Agrippa the term "theology" or "study of sacred letters" involves much more than the traditional field of Christian theology, that is confined to the Scripture, the Church Fathers, the scholastic theologians, whom Agrippa certainly studied in order to participate in quodlibetical disputations, and the official documents issued by the Church.

It is thus clear that a text on a theological subject such as the *Declamatio de originali peccato* is not alien to Agrippa's interests in a general sense. On the contrary, it belongs to a field that Agrippa himself considered important and to which he devoted much of his energy.

The *Declamatio* presents itself as an analysis of the story of the first

<sup>19</sup> See Yates 1964, pp. 130-131.

<sup>20</sup> See especially *De occulta philosophia* III, 36 "De homine quomodo creatus ad imaginem Dei"; published with notes in Zambelli, *Testi*, pp. 137-146.

<sup>21</sup> Nauert 1965, pp. 117-118.

<sup>22</sup> The passage is cited in full by Zambelli, *Testi*, pp. 107-108. The work, written *contra quendam dominicastrum* exists in one of the editions that was edited "per Beringos fratres" (vol. 2, pp. 594-663); it is not included in the edition that was reprinted by Olms.

man as related in Genesis. Throughout his analysis Agrippa wishes to point out that original sin had consisted in an act of sexual intercourse between Adam and Eve<sup>23</sup>. For Agrippa, this claim proceeded naturally from the combination of the description of the fall in Genesis and other Scriptural passages dealing with sin on the one hand, and the theory of triple constitution of man in the image of God that is characteristic of the Hermetic and Neoplatonic tradition and that forms the basis of his own anthropology on the other hand. In fact, his point was already clearly set forth in the *Dialogus de homine* (1515/1516), to which Agrippa himself refers as the text that constitutes the basis of *De originali peccato*<sup>24</sup>. Like the work on occult philosophy, this dialogue states that Man was created as a microcosm, consisting of a *mundus intellectualis*, a *mundus elementalis* and a *mundus celestis*<sup>25</sup>. As such, he was endowed with a mortal side and an immortal side, and he had the freedom to choose either side through his judgement of good and bad. Only after man had transgressed God's law, did he, in the words of *Pimander*, leave the sphere of contemplation and enter the sphere of concupiscence. In the section from this dialogue that Agrippa possibly has in mind, a parallel is drawn between a passage from *Pimander* describing the fall of man, and relevant biblical sources other than *Genesis*, notably *Romans* V,12, the text that formed the core of Christian teaching on original sin<sup>26</sup>. Another brief exposition of the thesis

<sup>23</sup> *Opera*, II, p. 554; see the full text below, note 24.

<sup>24</sup> "Ipsa autem opinio nostra talis est, non aliud fuisse originale peccatum, quam carnalem copulam viri & mulieris, quod ita esse in quodam dialogo nostro de homine, paucis quibusdam sacrarum literarum coniecturis persuasimus, sed nunc idipsum paulo diffusius (succincte tamen) ostendemus" ("De originali peccato", *Opera*, II, p. 554). The dialogue in question, *Dialogus de homine*, remained unpublished during Agrippa's lifetime, and was edited for the first time by P. Zambelli in the *Rivista critica di storia della filosofia* 13 (1958), 47-71. An important source of the *Dialogus* is Pico's *Heptaplus*. Surprisingly, M. de Gandillac, "C. Agrippa de Nettesheim", in: M. Bataillon a.o., *Aspects du libertinisme au XVIe siècle* (Paris 1974), p. 129, says that Agrippa, when talking in *De originali peccato* about the threefold constitution of man, cites from *De occulta philosophia* III,36.

<sup>25</sup> Ed. Zambelli 1958 (see above, note 24), pp. 60-61.

<sup>26</sup> The entire passage of the *Dialogus de homine* that Agrippa probably has in mind when writing *De originali peccato* is the answer that is formulated to the question: "...narra michi qualem creavit deus hominem ab initio dierum, et que fuerit mortis causa" (ed. Zambelli 1958, pp. 66-68; compare Zambelli, p. 67, n. 41, who supposes that Agrippa refers in the Declamation on original sin to a small fragment from this answer). The passage from *Pimander* is the following: "a luce spera contemplationis, in speram concupiscentiae et tenebrarum lapsus est"; quoted by Zambelli from a Paris 1505 edition (in the Basel 1576 edition, reprint ed. Torino 1962, vol.2, p. 1837, Ficino's translation is



that Agrippa develops in the *Declamatio*, can be found in a letter to Agrippa's friend Theodorich Wichwael. In this letter, written in response to Wichwael's negative reaction to the Declamation, Agrippa explains that since man was created as a mixture of three elements, the *potentia rationalis*, *sensualis* and *vegetativa*, each of these elements had to participate in the act that caused the fall of man from paradise. Only the carnal act, according to Agrippa, involves the combination of a depraved mind and body together, and therefore original sin must have consisted in an act of coition<sup>27</sup>.

This is thus the main point set forth in *De originali peccato*. In addition to the passage from *Pimander* quoted by Agrippa in the *Dialogus de homine* and referred to by Nauert as a possible source for Agrippa's "strange" opinion<sup>28</sup>, it may be interesting to refer to another passage in the *Pimander* that talks about physical love as the cause of death, that is, man's fall from the paradisaical state, viz. c. 18, in which the origin of earthly man (as opposed to celestial man) is described. The passage runs, in the translation by Ficino, as follows:

Extemplo Deus uerbo sancto clamauit: pullulate, adolescite, propagate uniuersa germina, atque opera mea. Vos insuper quibus mentis portio concessa est, genus recognoscite uestrum, uestramque naturam immortalem considerate. Amorem corporis, mortis causam esse scite: rerum omnium naturam discite.<sup>29</sup>

slightly different: "unde a contemplatione patris ad sphaeram generationis delapsus est"; modern edition par. 13); see also Nauert 1965, p. 58, n. 5, who cites this passage in *Pimander* as a possible source of Agrippa's *opinio*, without mentioning the *Dialogus de homine*. The well-known passage in *Romans* (quoted below, note 51) is referred to by Agrippa as follows: "In quo primo homine peccatore, ut ait Paulus ad Romanos, tamquam in radice, omnes homines ex illo geniti peccauerunt et moriuntur omnibus horis" (ed. Zambelli 1958, p. 67).

<sup>27</sup> "...sed cum originale peccatum tale fuerit, quod totum hominem, uidelicet ex anima diuina, spiritu coelesti, corporeque elementaliter constitutum, totum, inquam, simul ac seorsum in toto ac singulis partibus suis a pristina nobilitate deiecerit, dicerem, originale peccatum tale quiddam fuisse, in quo omnes & singulae hominis potentiae tam rationales, quam sensuales, et vegetatiuae, & corporeae, simul a lege data deficientes, huiusmodi in actu reuera concurrerunt (...) Erit itaque originale peccatum, effectus sive actus aliquis deprauatae rationis seu voluntatis, sed deductus in corporis exercitium, ubi actus ille iam verus fuerit, non simulatus, non cogitati(u)s, non imaginarius. Tale peccatum nullum aliud inuenio, praeter peccatum carnis, dicente apostolo Paulo, omne peccatum, quodcumque fecerit homo, extra corpus est: qui autem fornicatur, etiam in corpus suum peccat" (*Epist.* II,19; *Opera*, II, pp. 666-667).

<sup>28</sup> See above, note 26.

<sup>29</sup> Ficino, *Opera omnia* (Basel 1576, reprint ed. Torino 1962), p. 1838. In Scott's translation of the Greek version, the passage runs as follows: "And thereon God spoke

At the time Agrippa wrote *De originali peccato*, some two years after the *Dialogus de homine*, it was perhaps this passage, rather than the earlier one, quoted in the *Dialogus*, that convinced him that the *Genesis* story must be interpreted in the way he proposes in the *Declamatio*.

Before discussing a few details with regard to the rhetorical implications of the Declamation, it may be useful to summarize briefly its content and indicate its general structure.

1. The Declamation sets out to show that the anthropology familiar from the Hermetic writings, also forms the basis of *Genesis*. The *anima rationalis* or *intellectualis* (*Genesis* 1,26) and the *corpus humanum* or *terrenum* receive life from the *spiraculum vitae* (*Genesis* 2,7) or *coelestis spiritus*. In this threefold state man was immortal until he transgressed the command of God. Agrippa's goal, so he states, is to show that the fall took place both in the interior man (apparently covering *anima rationalis* and *coelestis spiritus*, although this is not explicitly said by Agrippa) and in the exterior man (apparently meaning *corpus terrenum*)<sup>30</sup>.

2. Agrippa begins with an allegorical interpretation of *Genesis* 3, focusing on the fall of *interior homo*<sup>31</sup>. Before the fall, "interior man" had a free choice between the divine (in the story represented by *lignum vitae*, referred to as *cognitio Dei eiusque assidua contemplatio; sapientia; castitas*) and the earthly (represented by *lignum scientiae boni et mali*; referred to as *affectus carnis; prudentia terrenorum; negligentia; ignorantia Dei*). Initially, Adam (*fides; fundamentum rationis*) was firmly in

thus in holy speech: "Increase and multiply abundantly, all ye that have been created and made. And let the man that has mind in him recognize that he is immortal, and that the cause of death is carnal desire..." (W. Scott, *Hermetica*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1924), p. 125). Festugière-Nock translate the phrase "amorem corporis mortis causam esse" with "la cause de la mort est l'amour". Compare the end of par. 19, in Ficino's translation: "Demum qui seipsum cognovit, bonum (quod est super essentiam) consecutus est, qui uero corpora, amoris errore complectebatur, is oberrabat in tenebris, mortis mala sensu percipiens". See also the remarkable observation on this passage by C.H. Dodd, *The Bible and the Greeks* (London 1935, 1954), p. 152: "The story of the Fall of the heavenly Man is at the same time the story of the origin of earthly man. As we have seen, the moral of the whole story for the Hermetist is that it was love of material nature that caused man to become mortal in becoming sexual. This theory determines the sense in which he will read the story of the Fall in *Genesis*".

<sup>30</sup> *Opera*, II, p. 551. Compare *Epist.* II, 19, where Agrippa briefly explains the thesis of the *declamatio* (see above, note 27).

<sup>31</sup> *Opera*, II, pp. 551-554; the section ends with the remark: "Haec de ligno vitae, vel de ligno scientiae boni & mali, ac interioris hominis lapsu, ita ad mortalem sensum prius exponere visum est".

charge and the command of God was obeyed, even after the desire for knowledge (Eve, *ratio libera*) had been created. Eve however, to whom, incidentally, the command of God did not apply, was tempted by the serpent (*sensualitas, illecebrae sensuum*) and induced Adam through *discursus argumentationum in sensibilibus* to transgress the order of God. Thus *fides* was corrupted and thrown down among the *sensibilia*, meaning those earthly things that can be proved by reason. Significantly, the practical meaning of this interpretation is immediately explained by the author. In our life, he says, faith comes prior to reason. Reason may be used to investigate earthly matters, but in matters of belief, faith is needed and any search for knowledge is prohibited<sup>32</sup>.

3. In the second and main part of the *Declamation* Agrippa sets out his opinion with regard to what the first sin concretely ("in re ipsa") had consisted of. The exposition is characterized by a large number of references to or quotations from Scripture. It consists of two more or less clearly distinguishable parts.

(3 A) First of all, the author presents his thesis, consisting of an explanation of the third chapter of *Genesis*. The core of the allegory is, according to Agrippa, the serpent, who symbolizes the "demon" that is inherent in human life and that threatens human happiness. The serpent, as the inspirer of Eve's temptation, stands for carnal desire, or even more concretely, the male organ<sup>33</sup>. This point is supported by a number of testimonies from Scripture, most of which are quoted verbally<sup>34</sup>. Through corruption, that is coition, man was ejected from paradise, that is, he became subjected to death<sup>35</sup>, an idea which the

<sup>32</sup> "... ratio enim posterior est fide; & fides natura prior ratione. ... Neque vero debemus disputare de diuinis, sed firmiter credere & sperare. De his vero, quae creata sunt, licet nobis rationis ministerio philosophari, disputare, concludere, non autem fidem & spem in illis ponere" (*Opera*, II, p. 553).

<sup>33</sup> "... hunc serpentem non alium arbitramur, quam sensibilem carnalemque affectum, imo quem recte dixerimus, ipsum carnalis concupiscentiae genitale viri membrum, membrum reptile, membrum serpens, membrum lubricum, variisque anfractibus tortuosum, quod Euam tentauit atque decepit" (*Opera*, II, pp. 554-555). Section 3A covers pp. 554-557.

<sup>34</sup> In order of appearance: *Job* 40,16; *Ep. 2 ad Corinthios* 12,7; *Ep. ad Romanos* 12,3 (where Agrippa accepts the reading "ad castitatem", following St. Jerome); *Genesis* 6,6; *Amos* 5,2; *Genesis* 3,7-8; *Ep. ad Romanos* 6,21 (*Opera*, II, pp. 555-556; the references to most of the Biblical testimonies that are cited in the *Declamatio* are mentioned in *margin* in the ed. 1600).

<sup>35</sup> "Corruptio autem coitus est, & ad coitum pertinet, cuius praemium mors: praemium autem castitatis, vita aeterna, regnum Dei, & habitatio Paradisi" (*Opera*, II, p. 556).

author finds attested to in a second series of testimonies, especially *Genesis* 6,3 ("My spirit shall not always strive with man, for that he is also flesh")<sup>36</sup>. This testimony shows, according to Agrippa, that anything born out of the flesh is naturally corrupted, having no part of the *intellectus* that is created by God. Hence every human being is tainted by this corruption. Agrippa concludes his argument by stressing that this thesis is also clearly set forth in *Pimander*<sup>37</sup>.

(3 B) Agrippa anticipates the criticism that the similarity in meaning between *Pimander* and *Genesis* can only be achieved through a distorted interpretation of the Scriptural text. He therefore proceeds in the second section of this part of his work to corroborate with additional evidence his viewpoint, which is now rephrased in slightly different terms, that is that God disapproved of sexuality<sup>38</sup>. This thesis is made plausible, first of all, by the *maledictio partus*, that Agrippa apparently considers as a punishment inflicted on man<sup>39</sup>. Second, the story of the first generations of man living after the fall and before the deluge (*Genesis* 4-5) illustrates that chastity is the key virtue in the eyes of God<sup>40</sup>. This point is further illustrated by a number of testimonies, which imply that chastity is favoured even in the married state<sup>41</sup>. Thirdly, from the episodes following after the deluge — the first punishment for original sin — Agrippa mentions the symbol of circum-

<sup>36</sup> Other testimonies cited in this context are *Psalms* 32(31), 9-10; *Jeremias* 5,8 and *Ep. 2 Petri* 2,12.

<sup>37</sup> "Hinc omnes qui ex carne geniti sunt, & generant per carnis & sensus propaginem, originalem culpam, corruptionemque contrahere necesse est, quod & Hermes in Pimandro, longa satis oratione ostendit, hominum videlicet a diuina contemplatione lapsum in naturam generationis animantium mundi mortalium ac ratione carentium, unde & ipse formam ratione carentem progenuit, mortis mala sensu percipiens" (*Opera*, II, p. 557). The expression "mortis mala sensu percipiens" is quoted from Ficino's translation of *Corpus Hermeticum* I,19 (see above, note 29).

<sup>38</sup> "Sed haec quae iam dicta sunt, fortasse nimis violenter contortis scripturis, ad hanc opinionem nostram corroborandam exposuisse videbimur, nisi alia adhuc testimonia adferamus quibus perspicacius videre liceat, commixtionem carnis displicuisse Deo" (*Opera*, II, p. 557). Section 3B covers pp. 557-563.

<sup>39</sup> In this context, he refers to *Genesis* 3,16; *Psalms* 7.

<sup>40</sup> Agrippa describes Cain, the fratricide, as the *filius peccati*, ancestor of the sinners who will perish in the deluge. Seth, who is born after Abel's murder and whose name means resurrection, is, through his son Enoch, the ancestor of the "generation of chastity", that will survive the deluge. Agrippa also calls Seth the ancestor of Jesus Christ ("... Seth, cuius nomen resurrectionem sonat, ex eo enim nasciturus erat Iesus Christus, per quem a tanto lapsu aliquando resurrecturi eramus", *Opera*, II, p. 558).

<sup>41</sup> Especially *Ep. 1 ad Corinthios*, 7, a chapter from which several passages are quoted, *Ep. ad Ephesios* 5,25 and *Ep. 1 ad Timaeos* 2,15.

cision, indicating the treaty between Abraham and God, as an important factor, for it represents not only the punishment for, but at the same time the remedy against original sin (*Genesis* 17). Agrippa adds a large number of supplementary references, all showing how much sexual desire was disapproved by God<sup>42</sup>.

(4) In a final brief section of his *Declamatio*, Agrippa discusses a last testimony, that could, in Agrippa's words, be used to counter all the previous illustrations of the thesis that God disapproved of sexuality, that is *Genesis* 1,28 ("Be fruitful and multiply"). In order to explain this testimony, the author calls upon the mystery of Christianity, that is hidden for ordinary man and only understandable by Saints. Agrippa does however, he says, hold specific thoughts on the issue, set forth in the *Dialogus de homine*<sup>43</sup>. The thesis developed in that earlier work, Agrippa now briefly explains, is that the *generatio* that is mentioned in the Bible, was meant by God to be a spiritual one. Support for this thesis is found in Johannes Damascenus<sup>44</sup>. Thus, the *Declamatio* ends with a clear indication that it has to be read in conjunction with the earlier *Dialogus*, to which he had already made a reference at the beginning of his writing.



Let us now briefly look at some details pertaining to the rhetorical value of the *Declamatio de originali peccato*. In the back of our mind we hold the suspicion that a *declamatio* in humanistic letters is a literary trifle, an exercise in which the author plays with arguments without making any commitment to his statements. The central idea of the

<sup>42</sup> *Opera*, II, pp. 561-563. The main Biblical passages that are mentioned to support this theory are the following, in order of appearance: *Ieremias* 1,5; *Ezechiel* 24, 18-21; *Exodus*, 3, 4-5; *Ep. Iudae* 5; *Deuteronomium* 34, 4-6; *Exodus* 19, 1-5; *Leviticus* 10,8-9; *I Regum* 21,4; *Deuteronomium* 20,6-7; *Ep. I ad Thessalonicenses* 5,7; *Ep. I ad Corinthios* 7,5; *Exodus* 12; *Evang. sec. Lucam* 12,35; *Evang. sec. Matthaeum* 19,29; *Isaias* 56, 4-5; *Apocalypsis* 14,4; *Evang. sec. Ioannem* 21, 20-22; *Evang. sec. Matthaeum* 16,28.

<sup>43</sup> *Opera*, II, p. 564. Compare ed. Zambelli 1958 (see above, note 24), p. 66, note 37.

<sup>44</sup> "Atque haec nos monent, ut credamus cum Damasceno, multisque Graecorum theologis, coniuges in statu innocentiae constitutos, in Paradiso, non per hanc carnis pudendam concupiscentiam impleturos fuisse benedictionem Dei. Non enim in carne proles illis seminanda erat ad corruptionem, sed in spiritu, ac verbo Dei, ad vitam aeternam, ..." (*Opera*, II, p. 564). A passage in Joh.Damascenus he possibly has in mind is *De fide orthodoxa*, IV,22 (see below, note 58).

*Declamatio* strikes the reader, of course, as strange, even outlandish. This perplexity seems well reflected in the judgment of Zambelli. In an article arguing that Agrippa's theological views are strongly influenced by Erasmus, she briefly mentions the Declamation, placing it in the context of Agrippa's Erasmian "defense of a theology that is relevant for all men, not just for the theologian-specialist", but otherwise referring to it as a "paradoxical" writing and thus implying that it does not express Agrippa's true opinion<sup>45</sup>. A number of testimonies related to the Declamation contradict the seemingly reasonable interpretation that assumes as a matter of course, on account of the strangeness of the contents, that the author was not expressing his thoughts.

We have seen above that the topic of the Declamation is not alien to Agrippa's interests as they appear from his other works, especially the *Dialogus de homine*. More specifically, Agrippa explains the *opinio* that, as the title of the work indicates, is formulated in the *Declamation* in a letter addressed to Theodorich Wichwael, the dedicatee of the treatise, who had protested rather abruptly against Agrippa's opinion<sup>46</sup>. Agrippa's answer, though polite and even modest in tone, is firm. As we have seen above, he gives a detailed statement regarding his interpretation of original sin, just as it was expressed in the Declamation<sup>47</sup>. This statement is introduced by an interesting biographical digression. Agrippa points out that, after a period of searching for "vain" human knowledge incompatible with "faith", he is now devoting all his energy to sacred letters<sup>48</sup>. One is reminded of this passage when, not very long after, he defends himself against the charge that he is not officially a theologian and thus has no right to write on theological subjects. In the polemical work that contains this defense, Agrippa lists all his activities in the field of theology, as we already have seen above. Among these

<sup>45</sup> Zambelli 1972 (see above, note 6), pp. 127-128; 139-140.

<sup>46</sup> "...est attamen theologizantium consona omnium sententia, Originalem maculam illic esse non posse, ubi rationalis anima non est. Sed hoc satis" (*Epist* II, 18; *Opera*, II, p. 663).

<sup>47</sup> See above, note 27.

<sup>48</sup> "Tandem, ut verum fatear, consumpto multo tempore ac laboribus cum animae, corporis fortunaeque bonorum iactura, nihil superlucratus sum ex his omnibus, praeter peccatum. Omnia siquidem haec ex fide non sunt, sed gratia Dei tantas humanarum scientiarum vanitates aliquando cognoscens, post utriusque iuris & medicinae (ut meorum desiderio satisfacerem, qui me doctorem malunt, quam doctum) acceptis scholastico more tiara & annulis: ad sacras literas, quamvis sero, toto me studio contuli: easque, sed procul contentionibus, rixosisque syllogismis, totus amplectar: nec effari possum, quam in his oblectatur simul & quiescit animus" (*Epist.* II, 19, in *Opera*, II, pp. 665-666).

figure publications in the form of “sermones et declamationes”, which are identified a little later by subjects. “De originali peccato” is one of them<sup>49</sup>. This evidence allows us to argue that, taken at face value, the Declamation on original sin is a composition that voices the genuine and authentic feelings of its writer.

*the discussion of original sin before Agrippa*

This does not mean, of course, that it was duly accepted by Agrippa’s contemporaries. Indeed, the reaction of Theodorich Wichwael seems to suggest a total rejection of Agrippa’s viewpoint<sup>50</sup>. As a matter of fact, the problem of original sin had been much debated in the tradition of the Church. The thought that all men participate in the sin of the first man is expressed first by Saint Paul in his letter to the Romans<sup>51</sup>. The broad notion of *concupiscentia* is present in Saint Paul’s analysis and it has become an essential part of Christian thinking on original sin. Particularly, it played a prominent role in the question how the transmission of original sin is to be seen. Many students, both Church Fathers and scholastic theologians, believed original sin was transmitted through sexual lust, a particular form of *concupiscentia*. Some students, notably Saint Augustine, additionally believed that *concupiscentia*, in the restricted sense of sexual appetite, is a punishment inflicted on man for Adam’s transgression of God’s law.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Zambelli, *Testi*, pp. 107-108. See above, note 22.

<sup>50</sup> See above, note 46. Nauert 1965, p. 58, note 5, refers in this context to a letter of Dieudonné (*Epist.* II,21), showing that “some of his (Dieudonné’s) fellow Celestine monks at Metz had been scandalized by Agrippa’s views”. In fact, the letter describes a meal that had taken place the previous night, at which Agrippa had given an exposé of his views “de statu primi hominis ante casum, & de casu angelorum”. The behavior that some monks displayed on this occasion as described by Dieudonné, illustrates, it would seem, a total lack of interest, rather than indignation (“aliqui fratrum nostrorum magis corporis, quam animae refectiōni intenti, ea minus attente audiuerunt: aliqui insipientius intellexerunt”, *Opera*, II, p. 670). In any event, Dieudonné requests Agrippa to put his views on the topic in written form. Zambelli 1972, p. 127, seems to assume that *De originali peccato* is the written version of the lecture given at the dinner table.

<sup>51</sup> *Rom.* V,12 ff. The key sentence is, in the Vulgate edition: “Propterea sicut per unum hominem peccatum in hunc mundum intravit, et per peccatum mors, et ita in omnes homines mors pertransiit, in quo (interpreted as ‘in Adam’) omnes peccaverunt. See J. Gross, *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Problems vom Ursprung des Uebels*. Bd. 1, *Entstehungsgeschichte des Erbsündendogmas* (München 1960), pp. 53-57.

<sup>52</sup> Gross 1960, p. 370: “Die sich von Adam her auf seine sämtlichen Nachkommen vererbende Sündenschuld ist nach ihm (Augustinus) nicht anderes als die Konkupiszenz, jene Revolte des Fleisches gegen den Geist, die erstmalig als Straffolge der Auflehnung des Menschengesistes gegen Gott im Sündenfall auftrat, die in der Zeugung wirksam ist und

In scholastic theology, it was an issue whether *concupiscentia* as the *fomes peccati* is a constituent element of original sin, or whether it is only concomitant to it. Gabriel Biel, a well-known scholastic theologian, wrote toward the end of the fifteenth century in a popular survey of scholastic theology<sup>53</sup>, that either position is probable, for both are supported in the works of Church Fathers and theologians, and neither is reprobated by the Church<sup>54</sup>.

The question Agrippa addresses in 1518 is thus literally a debatable question. His *opinio*, as he claims in the introductory letter to Wichwael, is *disputabilis*. The position Agrippa takes seems to be connected with the school of theologians who feel that *concupiscentia* is an essential part of original sin. What Agrippa considers to be his contribution to the viewpoints within that school — he stresses that his *opinio* is different from others and *nova*<sup>55</sup> —, is the combination of those viewpoints and the narrow interpretation of *concupiscentia* as sexuality, prompting the theory that original sin was the carnal act. We have seen above that Agrippa's theory originated from a non-Christian philosophy, that is the anthropology of the Hermetic writings in general and

durch letztere von Adam auf alle Menschen übergeht". See also *ibid.*, pp. 322-328 where Gross shows that St. Augustine argues that *concupiscentia* entered human nature after the transgression of Adam; he also indicates that, generally speaking, St. Augustine takes the terms *concupiscentia*, *lex peccati*, *cupiditas*, *libido*, in the restricted sense of sexual lust, and finally that the Church Father saw sexual lust as something evil, often as a sin in the full sense of the word. These views regarding the physical nature of man have, of course, not remained unnoticed by Christian moralists throughout the ages. E. V. Telle, however, goes too far in assuming that these views form the essence of Agrippa's *De originali peccato* (*Erasmus et le septième sacrement...* (Genève 1954), p. 268, note 20; refuted by Zambelli 1972, p. 158, note 114).

<sup>53</sup> The *Collectorium in IV libros sententiarum Guillelmi Occam* (Tübingen 1501, reprint edition Hildesheim 1977). See M. Schrama, "Gabriel Biel et son entourage: via moderna et devotio moderna", *Nederlands Archief voor kerkgeschiedenis* 61 (1981), 180-183; note 124 contains a check-list of the editions of the *Collectorium*. See also H. Oberman, *Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Grand Rapids 1967), pp. 123-126 ("Gabriel Biel as an historian of Christian thought").

<sup>54</sup> "Utrumque et fomitem (defined by Biel in this context as "lex carnis") includi in ratione peccati originalis tamquam materiale et ipsum non includi, sed esse annexum de facto, est probabile. Patet conclusio quia utramque partem tenent viri sancti et docti famosissimi, neutraque pars est ab ecclesia reprobata..." (*II Sent. d 30 q 2 art 2 concl. 5*, ed. Tübingen 1501, p. q iij-recto; partially quoted by Oberman 1967 (see note 53), p. 123, note 8). Oberman gives a useful survey of the question of original sin in the medieval tradition, as it was treated by Biel (pp. 121-123).

<sup>55</sup> See the dedication, *Opera* II, p. 550. A manuscript in the Municipal library of Lyons containing, among other works by Agrippa, the *De originali peccato*, has on fol. 1<sup>v</sup> a note by Agrippa stating that he had not found this opinion in any other author (Nauert 1965, p. 58, note 5).



maybe on a passage in *Corpus Hermeticum* (or *Pimander*) I in particular. Nonetheless, many elements of his argumentation can be linked to Christian sources. In general, the negative attitude towards sexuality that is inherent in Agrippa's *opinio* is, of course, entirely compatible with the Christian tradition, especially with Saint Augustine<sup>56</sup>. More specifically, important elements of Agrippa's allegorical interpretation of *Genesis* can be traced to Philo of Alexandria, who was himself influenced by Greek-Egyptian mysticism<sup>57</sup>. Johannes Damascenus, a Byzantine theologian of Arabic background, who is one of the very few non-Scriptural authorities to whom Agrippa explicitly refers, has interesting reflections on paradise, on man and on virginity, that Agrippa must have read with more than ordinary interest<sup>58</sup>. These are only a few examples taken at random. Indeed, it would seem an impossible task to compile a full list of all those Christian writers and identify all the passages related to the question of original sin, that may have been known to Agrippa. In sum, no matter how bizarre this theory may seem to the modern reader — and, indeed, it is officially heretical in Christian thinking after the Council of Trent<sup>59</sup> —, and even allowing that his views were not readily accepted by Agrippa's friend Wichwael nor no doubt many other theologians, Agrippa did address a major topic in Christian thinking that was not settled. It seems beyond any doubt that a topic with so many vital implications for the Christian writer could not have been intentionally treated as a literary joke or as a paradox, to be recognized as such by every reader, both at the time it was written in 1518, and when it was published in 1529.

*the dedication to Wichwael*

Though Agrippa was convinced he had something valid to say, he

<sup>56</sup> Nauert 1965, p. 58, note 5, refers to a specific passage in Augustine as the probable source of the Declamation; see also Telle (above, note 52).

<sup>57</sup> Gross 1960, pp. 43-44. The main passage of interest is *De opificio mundi* 151-152; 157-165. Agrippa's description of the serpent as the symbol of lust is possibly taken directly from *De opificio mundi* 157 or *Legum allegoriae* II, 72. Another possible source in this context is Clement of Alexandria, *Protrepticus*, 11 (Gross 1960, pp. 95-99).

<sup>58</sup> See, e.g., *De fide orthodoxa* II, 12: "Porro corpus et anima simul creata sunt"; IV, 24 (*De virginitate*) is possibly the passage to which Agrippa refers in the declamation (see above, note 44). J. Damascenus, *Opera*, vol. I, ed. P.M. Lequien, Paris: Migne, 1860 (*Patrologia Graeca*, vol. 94), col. 922; 1206-1215. The text is quoted after the translation of Lequien; Agrippa used the translation of Lefèvre d'Étaples, published in 1507.

<sup>59</sup> The *Declamatio* had already been put on an index of prohibited books issued by the faculty of theology at Paris in 1551 (F. Reusch, *Der Index der verbotenen Bücher. Ein Beitrag zur Kirchen- und Literaturgeschichte*, vol. I, (Bonn 1883), p. 121).

was also very much aware of the controversial nature of his opinion and the need to be very circumspect in presenting his case. The Hermetic tradition was, of course, not a widely accepted source of theological speculation. In this context, one remembers that Agrippa, in his inaugural lecture of his course on the *Pimander* which he taught at the University of Pavia in 1515, had felt the need to issue a full statement concerning his orthodoxy<sup>60</sup>. Possibly, the fact that Agrippa had worked in Italy for a good number of years caused some distrust among theologians on this side of the Alps. The reaction of his friend Wichwael, who was a doctor in theology and a titular bishop, clearly shows that Agrippa was not mistaken.

The dedication to Wichwael contains some elements that illustrate Agrippa's caution. In this letter, Agrippa stresses the multiplicity of interpretations of original sin in the history of Christian thinking. Since he finds all of these theories obscure and ambiguous, he wishes to disregard them — without, however, any feeling of contempt<sup>61</sup> — and give his own opinion, a completely new viewpoint, he claims, based on the interpretation of scripture. He grants his interpretation is debatable, but, he adds, it is possibly not erroneous<sup>62</sup>.

There are a few interesting details in terms of rhetorical strategy in this passage. The very positive declaration that the author wishes to lay aside without contempt all interpretations of original sin, coupled with the claim that his own opinion is new and debatable, indicates a willingness to exchange viewpoints and discuss diverging opinions. This attitude is reflected in the Declamation itself, where Agrippa expresses his hope that other scholars will agree with him and will confirm his

<sup>60</sup> The section goes under the special heading "Protestatio" in the *Opera* edition (II, pp. 1098-1099); modern edition by Zambelli, *Testi*, pp. 125-156.

<sup>61</sup> In fact, Agrippa must have agreed with the rather harsh tone that Erasmus uses to discuss the arrogance of the theologians, made worse by their single interest in futilities (See, e.g., *Moriae encomium*, LB IV, 463-4; ASD IV,3 (ed. Miller), pp. 144-146, where the scholastic controversy on the question "per quos canales labes illa peccati in posteritatem deriuata sit" is ridiculed.) Compare the slight change of tone at the end of Agrippa's dedicatory letter and, of course, the chapter on scholastic theology in *De incertitudine* (*Opera*, II, pp. 282-286).

<sup>62</sup> "De originali peccato, primumque hominis transgressionem, apud doctissimos, praestantissimosque, tam veteres, quam recentiores sacrarum literarum interpretes, variae fuerunt sententiae, quas animo mecum cum saepe revolverem, nihil mihi praeter obscura quaedam, & ambigua scripsisse videbantur. Non contemptis igitur, sed relictis eorum opinionibus, aliam, novamque, & meam opinionem (disputabilem duntaxat & fortasse non falsam) adferam,..." (*Opera*, II, p. 550).

opinion with arguments of their own<sup>63</sup>. This is an important passage, to which we shall return. In the latter part of the dedication, it becomes evident that Agrippa himself does not believe that his work will actually receive fair discussion. Indeed, he dedicates the Declamation to the most reverend Bishop, whose authority is needed to give protection against a storm of syllogisms that some phony theologians will pour out over it. These theologians know no simplicity, only antagonism to promote their own interest, and their syllogisms are similar to a brick wall that nothing can bring down<sup>64</sup>. Quite possibly, Agrippa was right in his assessment of the chances for an academic discussion regarding his *opinio*. Given the lack of relevant documents, it is impossible to prove or disprove the correctness of Agrippa's fears. However, in light of his life-long "Erasmian" struggle with academic theologians, the angry note we find in this passage is at least understandable. For that same reason it is all the more significant that the Declamation itself is void of any vein of antagonism. Instead, it is characterized by a tone of modesty and willingness to debate that is expressed in the first part of the letter.

*opinio; testimonia scripturarum vs. rationes ac argumenta*

The subject matter and the structure of Agrippa's *Declamatio* is different from its traditional ancient counterpart, which treated fictional subject matter belonging to one of the three *genera causarum*, mostly the *genus iudiciale* (*controversia*) or the *genus deliberativum* (*suasoria*). These topics involved the circumstances of time, place and persons and had the form of a complete oration in four (or more) parts. First of all, the treatment of a purely theological subject need not surprise us in the context of a 16th-century rhetorical text. In a number of handbooks on rhetoric dating from the early sixteenth century we find explicit mention that theological material can be treated in rhetoric<sup>65</sup>. In his *Commenta-*

<sup>63</sup> *Opera*, II, p. 554 (see below, note 68).

<sup>64</sup> "Scio namque quanta syllogismorum tempestas apud aliquot theosophistas in illam (sc. declamationem) ruitura sit, apud eos dico, apud quos nullus est simplicitati locus: sed sola viget ambitiosa contentio, nec est ruina maceriae, neque transitus per syllogismos eorum, nisi tuo subsidio, contra huiusmodi Aegyptias Timphes [sic! = sciniphes], ranasque tueatur" (*Opera*, II, p. 550). The term *simplicitas* is a clear reference to the evangelical *simplicitas*, which characterizes much of the humanist hostility toward scholastic theology.

<sup>65</sup> See for instance *De rhetorica libri III* by Melanchthon (first edition dating from 1519, numerous later editions under varying titles), that defines a separate *genus didascalium* for the purpose of treating theological subject matter in rhetoric (*Opera omnia*, vol.13 (Corpus reformatorum, vol. 13), ed. C. Bretschneider (Halle 1846), col. 421).

*ria in artem brevem Lullii*, a work to which we will return later, Agrippa himself states that the rhetorical theory about the three *genera causarum* is also applicable within the field of theology and ethics<sup>66</sup>. Second, with regard to the fact that our Declamation does not have the traditional form of an oration, a comparison with the *thesis* (or, *consultatio*), one of the fourteen *progymnasmata* that were used in ancient rhetorical training, may seem appropriate. Indeed, the *thesis* is the only preliminary exercise that allows speculative (i.e. theoretical, not practical) subjects and does not involve reference to the concrete circumstances inherent to rhetoric.<sup>67</sup> On the other hand, the structure of Agrippa's *Declamatio* does not closely reflect that of the *thesis*. It is a straightforward explanation of a statement, discussing a number of testimonies and lacking the rigorous argumentation *pro* and *contra* that is characteristic of the *thesis*. In fact, Agrippa had, as we will see, a surprisingly negative attitude towards such argumentation *pro* and *contra*, which he identified with the scholastic disputation.

In an interesting passage preceding the formulation of his opinion, Agrippa inserts a statement about the form of argumentation that he has chosen. It is an important section that merits to be cited in full:

Multi & veteres, & recentiores Theologi, super hac re multa opinati sunt, & unusquisque eorum in suo sensu abundat: quibus cum nescio an plane venia dignum sit meam quoque opinionem conferre: opinionem dico, non fidem, non scientiam, ut si erronea fuerit opinio mea, ab errore verae fidei ac incontaminatae Christianae sapientiae praevaricatione, sim alienus. Atque hac conditione nunc libere opinari licebit, & si (ut enim homo sum immaturae aetatis, ingenii ac literaturae minoris) in sensu meo non tantis scripturarum testimoniis abundem, ut res ipsa requirit, forsitan sequentur me doctiores quidam, quibus haec nostra opinio non displicebit; ab his me non modicum adiuuari posse confido, quatenus validioribus rationibus ac argumentis suis opinionem nostram robustiorem effecerint<sup>68</sup>.

<sup>66</sup> "Sciendum insuper, quoniam in omni materia, vel ethica, vel politica, vel theologica, tria occurrunt causarum genera: Demonstrativum ... Deliberativum ... Iudiciale" (*Opera*, II, p. 424).

<sup>67</sup> The *consultatio contemplativa*, as opposed to the *consultatio civilis*, is defined by Aphthonius as "quae ad solam animi considerationem pertinent, uidelicet: An globosum coelum, an multi sint mundi. Haec enim in usum hominibus non ueniunt, sed mente sola peruiantur." Any *thesis* or *consultatio* "differt (...) ab hypothese, id est, causa, quod causa definita est, consultatio uero indefinita", for "perquisitio est sine persona". (Quoted in the translation by R. Agricola, that was widely used in the sixteenth century; R. Agricola, *Lucubrationes aliquot* ... (Cologne s.a. (1539), reprint ed. Nieuwkoop 1967), p. 61.) The basic structure of the *thesis* comprises "contradictio" and "solutio" (ibid.).

<sup>68</sup> *Opera*, II, p. 554. The passage can be translated as follows: "Many theologians, both in ancient and in more recent times, have issued a great variety of viewpoints on this

A few observations regarding this text may seem appropriate. Agrippa draws a clear distinction between *testimonia scripturarum* and *rationes ac argumenta*. In his mind, there is a difference between his argumentation, which is indeed based on testimonies alone, and an argumentation that mainly consists of reasoning with "*rationes ac argumenta*". The form of argumentation to which Agrippa refers in this context is, of course, the quodlibetical disputation, that contains both *rationes* and *argumenta*<sup>69</sup>. Agrippa, we know, was very familiar with this academic form of discussion. In spite of his hateful reference in the introductory letter to "phony theologians" practising academic disputations, he seems to welcome debate on the theme of his Declamation in this particular form, that is based on arguments in the form of syllogisms. In other words, this passage contains an invitation to academic theologians to "pick up" his idea and discuss it in appropriately academic setting.

In this context, it is interesting to note that the term *opinio*, which is mentioned in the title of the Declamation and which is repeated a few times in passages such as this crucial one, could be interpreted as a sign to the theologians that the ideas expressed in the Declamation need to be specifically confirmed in an academic disputation. Indeed, the *opinio* has its own place in the scholastic system of knowledge. Although its specific definition seems to vary in different authors and ages, it generally appears to be considered as an intellectual view one holds as probable, based on dialectical argumentation or even supported by *auctor(itat)es* alone, with the admission or "fear" that one may be wrong<sup>70</sup>. In essence, it is to be distinguished from *scientia*, that

matter. Each one of them has brought to the fore many points to illustrate his interpretation. I am not sure if I may add my opinion to theirs; opinion, I say, not faith, nor knowledge. Consequently, if my opinion is erroneous, I shall not be considered as one erring in true faith and the pure Christian wisdom. Under this proviso, I am allowed to freely hold an opinion, and if (for I am a man of immature age and equipped with little intelligence and education) I do not provide a sufficient number of scriptural passages, as the subject requires, to illustrate my interpretation, perhaps some men more learned than I, agreeing with my opinion, will follow me and, I trust, will give me substantial support in that they will corroborate my opinion with better statements explaining my grounds and supportive arguments."

<sup>69</sup> See for the origin of the *disputatio quodlibetica* and its function in the system of medieval education P. Glorieux, "L'enseignement au Moyen Age. Techniques et méthodes en usage à la Faculté de Théologie de Paris, au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire au Moyen Age* 43 (1968), p. 128 ff. For an example see, e.g., S. Thomas Aquinas' *Quodlibetal Questions*, in: *Opera omnia*, ed. R. Busa, S.J., vol. 3, pp. 438-502.

<sup>70</sup> See for the notion of *opinio* in the Aristotelian scholastic theory of knowledge, A.

pertains, through inductive or demonstrative argumentation, to universal truths<sup>71</sup>. This essential distinction in scholastic theory is reflected in Agrippa's assertion that what he puts forward is *opinio*, not *scientia*. This does not mean, of course, that Agrippa understands his own work in terms of the scholastic system of knowledge, nor that he identifies his method and goal in reaching for knowledge with that of scholastic theologians. The fact that he calls his own contribution to the issue of original sin a *declamatio*, that is a piece of rhetoric, not dialectic, and his baleful remarks about the theologians in the dedication show that Agrippa does not equate their world with his. Also, the notion of *fides* that Agrippa uses in conjunction with that of *scientia* in delineating his concept of *opinio*, is alien to the scholastic system of knowledge, at least in the sense which Agrippa gives it<sup>72</sup>. For him, *fides* refers to the knowledge of divine matters or God, which is attainable only through revelation, not through human reasoning<sup>73</sup>. Finally, in Agrippa's text, the notion of probability that is inherent to the *opinio* pertains more to rhetoric than to the scholastic system. For instance, the element of "fear" that is so important in the scholastic *opinio*<sup>74</sup> is only indirectly present in Agrippa's writing, in so far as he modestly claims that the *opinio* is possibly not wrong. Instead, he focuses on what may be termed the positive, or rhetorical side of probability, since he so tenaciously tries to persuade the reader, adding testimony to testimony, that he is right. In the last resort, it is important to note that in the

Seifert, *Logik zwischen Scholastik und Humanismus. Das Kommentarwerk Johann Ecks* (München 1978), pp. 83-89 and notes, pp. 155-161. Seifert uses a wide variety of authors, from St. Thomas Aquinas to Eck. E.F. Byrne, *Probability and Opinion. A study in the medieval presuppositions and post-medieval theories of probability* (The Hague 1968), ch. 4 ("Probability in disputation and demonstration"), pp. 139-187. Byrne's argumentation is based on the work of St. Thomas Aquinas. A few relevant quotations are: "Probare autem per auctoritatem, non est demonstrative probare, sed fide rei opinionem facere" (St. Thomas, quoted in Byrne 1968, p. 140, n.1); Clichthove, a contemporary of Agrippa, defines *opinio* as "alicuius cum incertitudine credulitas; Lefèvre d'Etaples as "infirmus inconstansque assensus" (Seifert 1978, p. 155, n. 44).

<sup>71</sup> See St. Thomas Aquinas, as quoted in Byrne 1968, p. 185, n. 1.

<sup>72</sup> Significantly, *fides* is tantamount to *opinio* in the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas (Seifert 1978, p. 155, note 42; see also *ibid.*, pp. 159-160, n. 77,79).

<sup>73</sup> This is one of the fundaments of Agrippa's thought, forming the epistemological basis of all his works. See the important article of I. Backus, "Agrippa on 'Human Knowledge of God' and 'Human Knowledge of the External World' ", *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 65 (1983), 147-159.

<sup>74</sup> Seifert 1978, p. 83 ("Der unvollkommene Zustimmungsggrad des dialektischen Fürwahrhaltens wird jetzt als *formido* begrifflich fassbar"). Compare Clichthove and Lefèvre as quoted above, note 70.

context of Agrippa's thought, the term *opinio*, far from being part of the chain of knowledge reaching into the metaphysical, denotes knowledge of earthly matters alone. In this quest, Agrippa claims unrestricted freedom of rational investigation, but stresses that it is vain and even pernicious without faith in God<sup>75</sup>. Thus, the term *opinio* allows two different readings, one "scholastic" and the other "Agrippian".

A similar ambivalence can be shown at work in the expression *rationes ac argumenta*. In the context of the passage, as we saw above, it must refer to the dialectical disputation, but it can equally apply to rhetorical argumentation. In such argumentation, the bare enumeration of *rationes* and *argumenta*, typical of the scholastic disputation, is substituted by an elaborate display of arguments elegantly presented in a stylistically pleasant text which aims to persuade<sup>76</sup>.

In short, the whole passage containing what could be termed Agrippa's technical specifications is thus cleverly and probably intentionally ambivalent. At first sight, Agrippa is talking to the theologians and inviting them to debate his thesis in their academic sessions. At the same time, however, the text does not fail to address those who are more interested in the modern or rhetorical form of argumentation.

#### *elements of practical morality*

A few passages in the *Declamatio* help us understand why Agrippa, while not excluding an academic or "syllogistic" treatment of his thesis, is in favor of a more rhetorical approach to the issue. 1. The conclusion which Agrippa draws from his interpretation of the story of Paradise at the end of part 2 of the *Declamatio* clearly hints at Agrippa's well-known views concerning the proper attitude of the Christian intellectual in the contemporary world. Investigation of earthly matters is only justifiable if the individual accepts the supremacy of faith over reason.

<sup>75</sup> See, e.g., the thesis of *De incertitudine* as set forth by Agrippa in the *Ad lectorem*: "Hi igitur tam temerarii gigantes, & sacrarum literarum hostes aggrediendi sunt, illorum castra & arces expugnanda sunt, ostendendumque, quanta sit hominum caecitas, cum tot scientiis & artibus, cum tot insuper singularum magistris & authoribus, semper a veritatis cognitione aberrare, quanta etiam temeritas, quam arrogans praesumptio, Philosophorum scholas praeferre Ecclesiae Christi, opinionesque hominum praeponere, aut adaequare verbo Dei" (*Opera*, II, p. [8-recto]); see also Backus 1983 (above, note 73).

<sup>76</sup> For the terminology in rhetoric see, e.g., Erasmus, *De copia* II: "Undecima locupletandi ratio sumitur ex accumulatione copiosa probationum, & argumentorum (...) Nam ad ejusdem propositionis confirmationem variae rationes adhibentur, & rationes aliis argumentis confirmantur" (LB I, 88 D=ASD I 6, ed. Betty I. Knott, p. 230, ll. 802-805).

The passage clearly announces the basic theme of Agrippa's major rhetorical work, the *Declamatio de incertitudine et vanitate scientiarum et artium*. In the present context, it is relevant in that it shows that theoretical reflection is immediately proved to have consequences on the practical level of life, for this aspect constitutes the main difference between rhetorical and non-rhetorical treatment of a topic. 2. Another passage with a similar implication is the introduction to part 3 B of the *Declamatio*. It contains an interesting rephrasing of the main thesis of the work, broadening it to such an extent that one wonders if the author is still speaking about the same thing. Instead of: "the sin of Adam and Eve was sexual intercourse", we now read "God disapproved of sexuality"<sup>77</sup>. As we have seen above, Agrippa focuses in this section on the Mosaic story of the first generations of man, living after the fall. It contains reflexions concerning the virtue of chastity, a topic of importance for those early 16th-century intellectuals who were more interested in practical morality than in dogmatical issues confined to academic circles. It is precisely this concern for Christian values at the practical level, that stimulated these intellectuals to study rhetoric.

*oratio in praelectione Hermetis Trismegisti; commentaria in Artem brevem Lullii*

Other texts from this period help show how much it mattered to Agrippa to secure a ratiocinative form suitable for communication, and, in that context, how much he favoured the rhetorical approach of firm persuasion on the one hand and free exchange of views on the other hand. First of all, there is an interesting section in Agrippa's inaugural lecture at the university of Pavia, where he taught on the *Pimander* in 1515. The lecture, as we have shown above, contains a general survey of the historical figure Hermes Trismegistus as he was believed to have existed and of the basic elements of the *prisca theologia*. In addition to these elements, Agrippa gives, in what is to be the first of a series of lectures on the Hermetic text, a statement concerning the form of argumentation that he will use in his course<sup>78</sup>. He discerns three types of argumentation, all of which were developed in antiquity. The first two have in common that a particular viewpoint is positively defended, either with a plain refutation or with a full

<sup>77</sup> See above, note 38.

<sup>78</sup> The section has a separate heading, "Censura" in the *Opera* edition (pp. 1099-1101); Zambelli, *Testi*, pp. 126-127.



discussion — in the form of a dialogue — of other positions. This is the mode of arguing to be followed in the course that Agrippa will teach on *Pimander*<sup>79</sup>. The third form of examination is the argumentation *pro* and *contra*, that Agrippa identifies as the method of scholastic disputation<sup>80</sup>. Surprisingly, he brands this form as the *genus scepticorum*, and presents a series of negative statements about it, among others that it confines the free rhetorical argument to the fetters of thorny syllogisms<sup>81</sup>. Agrippa states that he will not use the “argumenta vel quaestiones” that are practiced by the “argumentatores” who use this form of arguing. He will, on the other hand, leave ample room for questions and discussion, either orally or in written form. This “censura” in the inaugural lecture from 1515 shows how carefully Agrippa was reflecting during these years upon the way to present his thoughts. In fact, it clearly indicates Agrippa’s rhetorical attitude. He wants to defend and explain, through probation and refutation, his own point of view and then, in an “open” form, begin a process of discussing and examining diverging standpoints.

The commentary on R. Lull’s *Ars brevis*, one of Agrippa’s early works, confirms the importance Agrippa attaches to rhetorical argumentation in order to reach a satisfactory process of communication. This work discusses the thirteenth century Lullian system of logic, that

<sup>79</sup> “Tria potissimum in usu sunt penes scholasticos disserendi genera: Vnum a Stoicis ac Peripateticis plurimum exercitatum, qui uidelicet, proposita re uel quaestione aliqua, alteram aut certam eius partem disputando defendunt atque adprobant, reliquas circa hanc opiniones confutantes: Alterum apud Academicos ac Socraticos usitatum, qui in medium adducta re aliqua uel quaestione, diuersas ad id quod inuestigatur sententias rationesque adferentes, illisque pluribus praepositis et ad rem ipsam inuicem collatis, quod ex his uerisimilius probabiliusque uisum fuerit, id eligunt atque adfirmant: Hos utrosque modos in lectionibus nostris obseruare intendimus” (*Opera*, II, p. 1099; Zambelli, *Testi*, p. 126).

<sup>80</sup> The general description of this form of arguing entails a standard caricature of the academic theologians: “Tertium uero disserendi genus Scepticorum est, quos penes nihil certum est quod sequantur, sed omnia illis indifferentia sunt, ideoque de omnibus in utranque partem disputant, & quae naturae ordine disiuncta distinctaque sunt, permiscunt atque confundunt, & perinde ac gigantes montibus montes accumulantes, bellum contra deos gerere uidentur, dum aliquot instructi syllogismis, homines rixosi ac meretriculis loquaciores, incunctanter audent quauis de re cum quouis linguam conferre: litigiosis enim quibusdam altercationum captiunculis ac sophismatum iaculis armati, omnium disciplinarum etiam sacrarum literarum fores se posse diffingere & penetrare arbitrantur:...” (*Opera*, II, pp. 1099-1100; Zambelli, *Testi*, p. 126). Compare the letter to Wichwael, quoted above, note 48: “...ad sacras litteras...toto me studio contuli: easque, sed procul contentionibus, rixosisque syllogismis, totus amplectar:...”

<sup>81</sup> This particular statement is a quotation from St. Jerome; see Zambelli, *Testi*, p. 127 and note 52.

is aimed at providing a universal system of finding and demonstrating all that is knowable<sup>82</sup>. Agrippa seems to accept Lull's basic idea that universal knowledge is accessible through a well-organized system of notions describing the universe on the one hand and rules of argumentation on the other hand. It is interesting that he has much to say on the particular form in which this logical system is to be presented. In this context he refers, time and again, to elements of the theory of rhetoric. For instance, in the second part, when he describes how the principles of *inventio* function within the Lullian system, he stresses the need to vary the form of logical propositions, both for esthetical and for practical purposes<sup>83</sup>. More specifically, in the section covering the actual formation of arguments utilizing the basic elements or notions that describe reality, Agrippa stresses that the syllogism, the fundament of all argumentation, can take different forms, viz. *enthymema*, *inductio* and *exemplum*<sup>84</sup>. These various forms of the syllogism, possibly described directly according to their definition in Aristotle's *Rhetoric* (I,2,8), strongly suggest that Agrippa is more interested in a system that sets rules for human communication about ideas (one may even appropriately say, opinions) than in a system that secures absolute validity of each pronounced statement. To these four traditional syllogistic forms of argumentation, Agrippa adds a fifth, which he calls the rhetorical

<sup>82</sup> For the date of this work see Nauert 1965, p. 52 ("quite possibly at this very time (1517)") and Backus 1983, p. 147, note 1 ("sometime before 1510"). A useful introduction to the Lullian system of logic is W. Schmidt-Biggeman, *Topica Universalis. Eine Modellgeschichte humanistischer und barocker Wissenschaft* (Hamburg 1983), pp. 156-174. See also Backus 1983, pp. 148-153 and, from the older literature, F. Yates, "The Art of Ramon Lull. An Approach to it through Lull's Theory of the Elements", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954), 115-173. The first part of Agrippa's commentary consists of a descriptive explanation of the *Ars brevis*, that contains the basic principles of the Lullian system (*Opera*, II, pp. 319-392).

<sup>83</sup> "Illud autem obseruandum est, ut in conficiendis propositionibus, non semper uniformem rationem adhibeamus, sed variare oportet, tum propter decorem, tum etiam propter usum:..." (*Opera*, II, p. 393); the second part, dealing with *inventio complexorum*, covers pp. 393-416.

<sup>84</sup> *Opera*, II, p. 402. This passage is briefly discussed in J. Meurer, *Zur Logik des Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim* (Bonn 1913), pp. 38-39. Meurer considers the passage typical of Agrippa's weak treatment of Aristotelian-scholastic logic, in that it brings rhetorical elements into logic. He states that Agrippa follows the practice of Italian logic (pp. 56-57). In fact, the Aristotelian definition of the different forms of the syllogism is, at least in theory, clearly present in medieval logic (see, e.g., Petrus Hispanus, *Summulae logicales*, 5.03, ed. I. Bocheński O.P. (Torino 1947), p. 45).

argumentation. He divides it in five parts, *propositio*, *ratio*, *rationis confirmatio vel dissolutio (loci; argumenta)*, *exornatio*, *conclusio*<sup>85</sup>.

Finally, the third part of the commentary, dealing with the practical use of the Lullian system, relies for its basic structure and ideas on the precepts of rhetoric. Agrippa discusses three elements that can form part of any argumentation, the *ingressio*, consisting of *exordium*, *narratio*, *divisio*, the *deductio*, that takes different forms, among which the rhetorical *confirmatio* and *confutatio*, and finally the *conclusio*, that, like the *ingressio*, is completely described following the rules of rhetorical theory<sup>86</sup>.

The Commentary on the “Ars brevis” of Lullius presents itself as a typically humanistic treatment of medieval logic, in view of the fact that it not only pays attention to the rules of pure thinking (logic, dialectic), but also to the effective presentation of arguments and ways to communicate with an audience (rhetoric). As such, it deserves a more detailed study than is possible in the present context. The remarks which were made suffice, in conjunction with the observations on the *Censura* in the introductory lecture given at Pavia in 1515, to show that Agrippa gave substantial reflection, on a theoretical level, to the question of how to present arguments, and that he favored a rhetorical mode of arguing over the purely logical form that was practiced in academic teaching.

*definition of the “genre” of declamatio?*

What kind of a work, finally, is the *Declamatio de originali peccato* and with what intentions did the author write it? In light of the present discussion it would appear that the answer to that question is not very simple. A few conclusions can be drawn on the basis of our observations.

First, if we look at the subject that is treated, there is no indication that the author does not seriously mean what he writes. This *Declamatio* discusses a topic in the field of theology or sacred letters, that was of paramount importance to Agrippa. More specifically, it develops the crucial theme of “unity” in theological traditions, specifically the *Pimander* and Holy Scripture. This theme is the basis of all of Agrip-

<sup>85</sup> Ibid. Meurer 1913, p. 39, remarks that Agrippa is thinking of the *thesis*, the thirteenth of the series of *progymnasmata*.

<sup>86</sup> The third part, dealing with *universalis artis dispositio et applicatio* covers pp. 417-448. It includes three examples of a full argumentation developed along the principles set forth by Agrippa.

pa's writings in this period, as is stressed by Nauert<sup>87</sup>. Agrippa clearly indicates in the *Declamatio*, that its argument has to be placed in the context of his earlier work *Dialogus de homine*<sup>88</sup>. Furthermore, the text contains elements of thought that are also expressed in other works by Agrippa. A noteworthy example in part 2 of the *Declamatio*, as we have seen, is the theme of human knowledge (free investigation of earthly matters) as opposed to the word of God (faith in revealed truth), that will be developed in full in the *Declamation on the Vanity of Arts and Sciences*.

Secondly, the *Declamatio* is not closely modelled on any standard rhetorical form. It is not an *oratio*, nor a *progymnasma* (*thesis*), nor even a dialogue or a letter. In fact, it is a very straightforward text, presenting an interpretation of a Scriptural text on the basis of testimonies taken mainly from Scripture itself. The proposition seems thus justified that the rhetorical character of the text is more determined by its function than by its form. In this light, the ambivalent nature of Agrippa's remarks concerning the kind of discussion he wants his *Declamatio* to cause, is perhaps particularly relevant. On the one hand, Agrippa indicates that he would welcome a theological debate on his views concerning original sin. This is not surprising, for Agrippa considered himself a theologian, as we know from other sources, and he naturally desired to be taken seriously by his colleagues. Such a debate would have to take place within the appropriate structure, that is an academic disputation. The terminology Agrippa uses when expressing his desire to discuss the issue (*opinio*, *rationes-argumenta*) is apparently chosen so as to be interpreted by theologians as an invitation to organize a disputation to assess Agrippa's work. It is obvious that Agrippa considers his *Declamatio* as an argumentation to be taken into full account in the theological debate on original sin, although he grants that it is not a full academic treatment of the issue.

At the same time, however, the terms *opinio* and *rationes-argumenta* can imply a more rhetorical form of discussion, for instance a dialogue. A number of indications allow us to assume that Agrippa actually favored such a form of discussion over the academic disputation. For instance, when Agrippa couples specific aspects of his interpretation of Scripture with practical consequences, it is clear that he is thinking of

<sup>87</sup> Nauert 1965, pp. 45-46.

<sup>88</sup> See above, pages 183 and 188.

practical morals rather than theological speculation and that he intends his text to be read by an audience of lay people.

The unspecified or generic term *declamatio* may have been in part suggested by this clearly ambivalent function of the text. On top of that, Agrippa quite possibly saw his *Declamatio* in the context of other non-academic (in the strict sense of the word) commentaries and interpretations of the Bible and "sacred letters", written by scholars, humanists whom he knew well and who worked within the same conceptual framework as he did. One thinks of Lefèvre d'Étaples, who edited and annotated the text of *Pimander*<sup>89</sup>, or John Colet, who was interested in the Hermetic tradition. He wrote commentaries on the first chapter of *Genesis*, in the form of four letters to an unidentified Radulphus, and on *Romans* and *First Corinthians*, all dating from the end of the fifteenth century<sup>90</sup>. Colet's texts remained unpublished, but since Agrippa worked with him during his stay in England, it is not impossible that he knew them. Colet begins his exposition on the first chapter of *Genesis* with a few friendly remarks in an informal style to his friend Radulphus. He is surprised that Radulphus, who is studying difficult passages in the Bible, has started his meditation with a passage in *Genesis* 4. Does he not realize how difficult the first three chapters are? The Mosaic account of the creation is so difficult that numerous interpretations are possible. But, Colet continues, we are not frightened by this problem and will clarify the meaning of Moses' words point by point, following one interpretation among many others. However, he specifically says he will confine himself in the letters to his friend to *Genesis* 1<sup>91</sup>. Hypothetically, could not Agrippa, when presenting his

<sup>89</sup> *Pimander...Asclepius...* (Paris 1505 and 1522). I have been unable to consult these editions. The famous dispute concerning the monogamy of Saint Anne brought Lefèvre and Agrippa into close contact during Agrippa's stay at Metz. Both authors wrote about the issue and held opinions that provoked strong criticism among conservative theologians (Nauert 1965, p. 61). Lefèvre's writing on Mary Magdalene, involving another issue of Scriptural interpretation, caused a polemic in which Clichthove took Lefèvre's side. In a *defensio*, dating from 1519, Clichthove formulated several humanistic ideas concerning freedom of investigation and discussion in Biblical exegesis, that one could usefully study in conjunction with the texts expressing Agrippa's rhetorical attitude (see V. Carrière, "Libre examen et tradition chez les exégètes de la préréforme (1517-1519)", *Revue d'histoire de l'église de France* 30 (1944), pp. 39-53).

<sup>90</sup> J. Colet, *Opuscula quaedam theologica*, ed. J.H. Lupton (London 1876, reprint ed. Ridgewood, NJ 1966); B. O'Kelly-C. Jarrott, *John Colet's Commentary on First Corinthians* (...) (Binghamton 1985). See for the dates of these commentaries S. Jayne, *John Colet and Marsilio Ficino* (Oxford 1963), p. 37.

<sup>91</sup> Colet 1876 (1966), p. 167.

interpretation of *Genesis* 3, have had in mind his discussions with Colet, or even the Letters to Radulphus themselves, to which he may have intended to write a sequel?

Thus, while it is possible to prove the serious intention of this rhetorical text, it remains difficult to give a specific answer to the question why it is called a *declamatio*. It is sufficiently clear from the above that this *Declamatio* is not a direct descendant of the Greco-Roman *declamatio*, known as *controversia* or *suasoria*. If we look at the issue in terms of the classical tradition, it is more appropriate to place this text in the context of Ciceronian rhetoric, as it was cultivated by the humanists. Cicero stressed the commitment of the good orator to seriousness and moral values in view of his duty as a public leader. In this context, he advocated a general training in philosophy, which involved the exercise of *thesis*, that later developed into the amply criticized *controversia* and *suasoria*<sup>92</sup>. But it must also be stressed that Agrippa's *Declamatio* is a totally new rhetorical form, one which does not closely fit the classical molds and has a function of its own in the 16th-century context.

An earlier inventarisatie of 16th-century *Declamationes* has shown a great diversity in the subjects treated and in the structures applied (sometimes following a classical pattern, such as the *thesis*, sometimes not). This prompts us to caution in formulating a definition of the humanist *declamatio* in general<sup>93</sup>. On the basis of the present analysis of content, structure and function of the *Declamatio de originali peccato*, we may however formulate the following minimal conclusions. This text takes a subject which traditionally belongs to the field of scholastic disputation, out of its original setting and discusses it in an "open" form, inviting reactions and exchange of views. The author chooses this particular way of treating his subject because he believes that the issue at stake, while not alien to the domain of academic theologians, has implications that surpass their limited interests, in that it has relevance for the Christian community as a whole. The new way of treating this subject material is possible thanks to the humanist

<sup>92</sup> See M. van der Poel, *De "declamatio" bij de humanisten. Bijdrage tot de studie van de functies van de rhetorica in de renaissance* (Nieuwkoop 1987); an outline of this book in id., "The Latin 'Declamatio' in Renaissance Humanism", *The Sixteenth Century Journal* XX (1989), 471-478.

<sup>93</sup> See literature cited in note 91, especially pp. 193-235.

reform of dialectic through application of elements of the theory of rhetoric. Nor is it alien to the revival of Ciceronian notions concerning the moral commitment of the public speaker.

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EL DE RITU NUPTIARUM ET DISPENSATIONE DE  
JUAN GINÉS DE SEPÚLVEDA

Contrariamente a lo que sucede con tantos personajes de marcada significación histórica o literaria de los que apenas si disponemos de unos cuantos datos aislados que nos permitan recomponer, no sin dificultad y a grandes rasgos, el curso de sus vidas, la trayectoria vital y la ingente producción literaria de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, que, como la de todo humanista, se mueve indistintamente en el campo del derecho, la filosofía, la teología o la política, no presentan en la actualidad demasiados puntos oscuros gracias al estudio exhaustivo que de su persona y su obra llevó a cabo la Real Academia de la Historia en 1780<sup>1</sup> con motivo de la edición de la totalidad de sus escritos. Si a esto sumamos la completísima biografía que, ya en este siglo, ha elaborado A. Losada<sup>2</sup>, más bien escasas resultan las sorpresas con que tropezamos a la hora de encarar la existencia de un personaje tan singular y de una obra tan extensa como interesante.

Sin embargo, esta relativa abundancia de estudios y tratados sobre el humanista andaluz no ha dejado de valorar determinados aspectos de su quehacer literario en detrimento de otros, que, tan potencialmente interesantes como aquéllos, han sido injustamente relegados a un segundo puesto en la consideración de quienes se han acercado a su obra; en consecuencia, la figura de Sepúlveda ha llegado hasta nosotros contemplada, básicamente, bajo un triple punto de vista: como historiador (*De rebus gestis Caroli V*, *De rebus gestis Philippi II*, *De orbe novo*), como filósofo (en virtud de sus muchas traducciones de Aristóte-

<sup>1</sup> La referida edición madrileña lleva por título: *Ioannis Genesii Sepulvedae cordubensis opera, cum edita, tum inedita, accurante Regia Historiae Academia* (Matriti, Ex typographia regia de la Gazeta, Anno MDCCCLXXX). En lo sucesivo, para referirnos a ella, lo haremos indicando sólo el tomo y la página.

<sup>2</sup> A. Losada, *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda a través de su epistolario y nuevos documentos* (Madrid, 1973 [= 1949]).



les), y como polemista<sup>3</sup>. De este modo, sus escritos morales y teológicos, sus tratados sobre política, derecho o cronología, e, incluso, gran parte de su extenso y valiosísimo epistolario<sup>4</sup>, permanecen aún en el olvido, incomprensiblemente arrinconados por quienes, deslumbrados, sin duda, por la trascendencia y magnitud de los escritos mayores de Sepúlveda, han venido ocupándose hasta el momento del estudio de su obra.

Y ésta, precisamente, ha sido la suerte corrida por el *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione*, tratado de derecho canónico compuesto por Sepúlveda en 1531 y publicado en Roma por primera vez en ese mismo año<sup>5</sup>. La obra, dedicada al cardenal Quiñones, titular de la Santa Cruz de Jerusalén y obispo de Cori, a cuyo servicio permaneció Sepúlveda durante algún tiempo en la corte pontificia, y escrita a instancias de este mismo personaje, tiene su origen en la tremenda polémica suscitada en la cristiandad a propósito del divorcio de Enrique VIII de Inglaterra y Catalina de Aragón, asunto éste muy debatido en esos momentos, y ante el cual nuestro autor no pudo permanecer indiferente. Él mismo confiesa estas circunstancias en el prefacio diciendo así:

“Quam quaestionem cum hoc temporis viderem magno studio magna contentione doctorum virorum disputari, haud equidem ex officio me

<sup>3</sup> En este sentido, son especialmente significativos, en primer lugar, sus diversos encontronazos con Erasmo, contra quien, a la muerte del Príncipe de Carpi, Sepúlveda arremetió deliberadamente con la escritura de su obra *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio principe Carpensi in Rotterodamum*; y, en segundo lugar, la encendida disputa que, años más tarde, mantuvo con Fray Bartolomé de las Casas a raíz de la conquista del nuevo mundo.

<sup>4</sup> Hasta el momento, tan sólo A. Losada parece haberse interesado por el tema de las cartas de Sepúlveda, como así lo demuestra su *Epistolario de Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (Selección)*. Primera traducción del texto original latino, introducción, notas e índices (Madrid, 1979 [= 1966]).

<sup>5</sup> Sabemos que el libro ya estaba concluido para el 22 de Agosto de 1531. Reproducidos al respecto la aportación de Losada, *o.c.*, p. 68.: “En uno de los ejemplares de la edición general, que se conserva en la Biblioteca Nacional (Sign. 2/59.109-12), en el tomo 1º, hemos encontrado la siguiente nota manuscrita de letra del señor Gayangos: ‘Archivo de Simancas. Carta autógrafa del doctor Ortiz al emperador Carlos V. Roma 22 de Agosto de 1531 ... El maestro Sepúlveda es amigo mío y de buena y varia doctrina y los días pasados compuso un libro en favor de la Serenísima Reina de Inglaterra. Diómelo para que yo lo viese, yo viendo que allende elegancia y estilo contiene buena doctrina, que conduce a la clara justicia desta causa (del divorcio) le dixé que se imprimiese y así se a imprimido’.

La nota no deja de tener su interés. Por ella sabemos que el libro ya estaba concluido para el 22 de Agosto de 1531 y que el doctor Ortiz se encargó personalmente de examinarlo y comunicar su juicio al propio emperador”.

facturum putaui, si qui vel alijs silentibus quiescentibusque loqui ac stylum mouere soleo, in tantis clamoribus conticerem, te praesertim ad scribendum (qui iubere tuo iure poteras) adhortante.”

El *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione* ha sido editado en cinco ocasiones diferentes<sup>6</sup> en el período comprendido entre 1531 y 1780: en dos de ellas de forma aislada; en las otras tres, incluido dentro de ediciones que contienen varias obras de Sepúlveda.

De manera independiente la obra fue editada por vez primera en Roma en 1531. en 4.º; y del mismo modo en Londres unos años más tarde, aunque no hay unanimidad a la hora de fechar esta edición: 1533 es el año propuesto por la Academia<sup>7</sup>, mientras que 1558 es el determinado por Losada<sup>8</sup>. en 4.º.

Dentro de las ediciones que contienen varias obras del autor, no aparece en la de París de 1532, y sí, en cambio, en la de París de 1541. en 8.º, en la que ocupa los folios 85<sup>v</sup>-125, y va en tercer lugar, precedida del *Dialogus de appetenda gloria qui inscribitur Gonsalus* y seguida de la *Antapologia pro Alberto Pio principe Carpensi in Rotterdamum*. (B.N. sign. 29 723). También está incluida en la edición de Colonia de 1602. en 4.º; en ésta ocupa las páginas 492-536, y va en undécimo lugar, precedida del *Teophilus* y seguida del *De fato et libero arbitrio*. (B.N. sign. 2290). Y, por último, aparece en la de Madrid de 1780. en 4.º, en la que ocupa las páginas 414-467, y va en duodécimo lugar en el volumen IV, precedida del *Teophilus* y seguida del *De fato*. (B.N. sign. 3/53106-9)<sup>9</sup>. Las cinco ediciones mencionadas llevan anotaciones marginales, y, al final del prefacio de ésta última, los editores aclaran en nota que la primera edición de la obra (Roma, 1531) les ha llegado por el tabulario Septimancensi, y que ellos han anotado al margen las variantes existentes entre la primera edición y las posteriores<sup>10</sup>. Losada, por su parte, confirma este dato declarando que, efecti-

<sup>6</sup> Una descripción detallada de las cinco ediciones puede encontrarse en A. Losada, *o.c.*, pp. 360-361.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. “De vita et scriptis Jo. Genesisii Sepulvedae cordubensis commentarius”, en *Opera*, I, p. XXV.

<sup>8</sup> *O.c.*, p. 361.

<sup>9</sup> Precisamente estas tres últimas ediciones -París, 1531; Colonia, 1602; Madrid, 1780- han sido las consultadas por nosotros a la hora de llevar a cabo nuestra memoria de licenciatura, titulada *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda, De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione (Libri Tres)*, introducción, texto y traducción, presentada en la Universidad de Granada el 7 de Octubre de 1988, y aún inédita.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Opera*, IV, p. 415.

vamente, los editores de la Academia encontraron la edición príncipe de la obra en el Archivo de Simancas<sup>11</sup>. Conviene también, antes de dar por terminado este escueto repaso a la historia editorial del *De ritu nuptiarum*, dejar constancia aquí de la puntualización que hacen los editores académicos en el estudio bio-bibliográfico con el que abren su edición, según la cual el *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione* sería una obra distinta de otro escrito breve que Sepúlveda — como él mismo indica en el libro XXVIII del *De rebus gestis Caroli V* — envió a Enrique VIII, y que no ha llegado hasta nosotros, titulado *De Ecclesiae Romanae pontificisque potestate*<sup>12</sup>.

Se compone el *De ritu nuptiarum* de tres libros — “oratio” y “libellus” son los términos con que el propio Sepúlveda se refiere a su obra —, de ahí que sea considerado como uno de sus escritos menores<sup>13</sup>, en relación, sobre todo, con otras obras del autor de mayores proporciones, como la ya mencionada *De rebus gestis Caroli V* — en treinta libros —, y supone, como apuntábamos más arriba, la contribución personal de Sepúlveda a la enorme controversia desatada a raíz del divorcio del monarca inglés. Esta circunstancia, particularmente conflictiva, que está en la propia génesis del tratado, es la que lleva a Losada a incluirlo en el mismo capítulo en el que aborda otros escritos del autor igualmente polémicos, agrupándolos bajo el altisonante título de “Martillo de la herejía: sus obras contra Erasmo, Lutero y Enrique VIII”<sup>14</sup>.

Cuando Nicolás Antonio<sup>15</sup> enumera las obras de Sepúlveda cita una titulada *Pro matrimonio regis Angliae Henrici VIII cum Catherina coniuge* y extrae la noticia del libro 1º de la obra de Nicolás Lander *Schisma Anglicanum*, en donde se afirma que Sepúlveda fue uno de los españoles que escribió algo a propósito de tan debatida cuestión. En opinión de Losada, no obstante, Nicolás Antonio hubo de desconocer el original del *De ritu nuptiarum*, que también cita, ya que de su simple contenido se deduce que es éste el alegato escrito contra Enrique VIII<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> *O.c.*, p. 342.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Opera*, I, p. XXV.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. O.A. Graf von Looz-Corswarem, “Sepúlvedas kleinere Schriften”, en *Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde ...* (Göttingen, 1931), p. 48.

<sup>14</sup> *O.c.*, p. 305.

<sup>15</sup> Nicolás Antonio, *Biblioth. Hisp. nov.*, t. I, p. 533.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. A. Losada, *o.c.*, p. 69. Y añade: “La carta del doctor Ortiz viene a confirmar plenamente nuestra afirmación”.

Tras la dedicatoria al cardenal Quiñones con que se inicia la obra, Sepúlveda esboza en el prefacio los temas de los que con todo detalle se ocupará en cada uno de los libros. Dice así:

“Nec placuit orationem meam vnus angustijs intercludi, sed vagari latius, et totam de ritu nuptiarum disputationem (quatenus res matrimonium impediens attingit) paulo accuratius, sed strictim tamen obire: simulque haud paulo impeditiorem quaestionem de dispensatione disserere. Cuius velut fonte ac viribus indicatis, legumque generibus expositis, quantum per oracula diuina, ipsamque naturam, et decreta sanctorum patrum cum in alias leges temperandas, tum in singula nuptiarum impedimenta pontificis dispensationi licere mihi videretur, hoc quem ad te mittimus libello explicare curauimus”.

Queda ya claro, pues, desde estas mismas palabras iniciales, que, si bien Sepúlveda encontró el estímulo que lo animó a poner manos a la obra en el conflicto puntual y específico generado por el divorcio de Enrique VIII — debate en el que él, dado su carácter inquieto y especulador, no podía dejar de participar aportando su particular visión de los hechos —, la tal circunstancia, no obstante, acabaría siendo un mero pretexto para acometer con todo rigor un exhaustivo estudio sobre lo concerniente al rito de las nupcias y a la dispensa, y analizar así en profundidad, con un planteamiento más amplio, toda la problemática en torno al matrimonio y sus impedimentos. Tarea para la que, por otra parte, nuestro humanista estaba más que capacitado por su vasta formación como filósofo, teólogo y jurista.

El libro primero está consagrado por entero a la revisión de los distintos impedimentos del matrimonio; matrimonio que, en tanto que sacramento instituido por Dios, Sepúlveda define como “la alianza indisoluble de hombre y mujer, libre y legítimamente contraída, con vistas a la procreación”. Señala que, si bien al comienzo de los tiempos, y dada la escasez de hombres, toda unión constituía matrimonio, posteriormente, para que éste tuviera validez, hubo que observar algunas condiciones, que, en caso de ser descuidadas, lo invalidaban. Y así, hace una distinción entre aquellas circunstancias que constituyen obstáculo para el matrimonio, pero que, una vez contraído éste, no lo disuelven, y, frente a éstas, aquellas otras que, no sólo son obstáculo, sino que además tienen el poder de deshacer el matrimonio si éste hubiera llegado a contraerse en la ignorancia o descuido de las mismas. Se trata de los impedimentos del matrimonio. Son éstos: la coacción o el miedo; el error, ya sea en la persona o en lo que atañe a los bienes

del matrimonio, que son lealtad al lecho, descendencia e indisolubilidad; es también impedimento la incapacidad no conocida para el acto conyugal, tanto en el hombre por la “perpetua membri genitalis deiectio, quae frigiditas appellatur”, como en la mujer a causa de la “naturae coarctatio”. Y no importa si esta incapacidad es natural o producida por el azar o por efecto de un brebaje. Más impedimentos: la entrada en una orden religiosa por parte de uno de los cónyuges, practicar distinta religión uno y otro esposo, el estar ya casado, o el haber asesinado al marido anterior. Y asimismo, los derivados de la consanguinidad, la afinidad y la cognación espiritual (el caso de padrinos, compadres ...), y los que tienen que ver con lo que se denomina “razón de honradez pública”, es decir, el caso de matrimonios entre niños o enajenados. Éstos son, en definitiva, los impedimentos del matrimonio, únicas circunstancias que pueden deshacerlo, con excepción del adulterio o la entrega por parte de uno de los cónyuges al culto impío de los dioses — lo que propiamente se entiende como adulterio espiritual —. Al margen de todo lo mencionado, pues, el vínculo matrimonial desaparece tan sólo al producirse la muerte de un esposo; muerte que, a su vez, puede ser natural o bien espiritual, si es que éste profesa en una orden religiosa, circunstancia que, después de casado, solamente puede darse en tres supuestos: por adulterio manifiesto del cónyuge, por consentimiento de éste, o por no haber llegado a consumarse el matrimonio; en este último caso, al que permanece en la vida seglar le está permitido casarse de nuevo.

En el libro segundo se expone qué es la dispensa y su necesidad para atemperar las leyes por las que se mantienen la sociedad humana y la religión; se habla de qué leyes hay y de qué tipos son, y de a quiénes les ha sido otorgado crearlas o interpretarlas, entendiendo siempre la dispensa como una interpretación de bien y de equidad.

Su propósito fundamental al comienzo del libro es determinar con total precisión en qué medida aceptan la dispensa del Pontífice cada uno de los impedimentos expuestos con anterioridad. Partiendo de Platón, según el cual las diferencias existentes entre los hombres hacen que ninguna ley pueda servir para todos por igual, Sepúlveda esboza una primera definición de dispensa en la que ésta aparece contemplada como una ley no escrita y necesaria para acomodar las leyes a cada caso particular. Y aunque, en principio, esta acomodación podría parecer negada por la severidad de las leyes escritas, sin embargo, en opinión de Sepúlveda, la tal facultad de dispensar fue legítimamente

otorgada por el derecho de gentes a aquéllos que detentan la suma autoridad en la administración del estado, esto es, a príncipes, reyes y supremos magistrados, que, cuando legislan, están asistidos por Dios. Naturalmente, el Papa está imbuido de esta potestad más que ningún príncipe, pues cuando Dios puso al Apóstol Pedro al frente de su Iglesia y le confirió la máxima autoridad en el gobierno de la nación cristiana con las palabras: “Lo que desatares sobre la tierra, será desatado también en los cielos; y lo que atases, atado”, estaba haciendo referencia, sin duda, al poder que ponía en sus manos para crear leyes y moderarlas en virtud de su sabiduría y arbitrio, e incluso derogarlas.

A continuación se diserta sobre el alcance de la potestad pontificia en los distintos tipos de leyes — naturales, civiles, divinas y pontificias —, al objeto de que, llegado el momento de reflexionar en particular sobre las leyes del matrimonio y su dispensa, sea más fácil determinar la situación específica de éstas. Según Sepúlveda, hay que dejar sentado el principio de que el Papa tiene poder para dispensar no sólo en las leyes dadas por los hombres, sino también en las naturales y en las de derecho divino, excepto, lógicamente, en aquéllas en que se estipula algo sobre la fe y el valor de los sacramentos, es decir, en los artículos de fe. En consecuencia, la dispensa no es un cambio de ley, sino, en función del momento, del lugar y de las personas, y por exigencias de utilidad o necesidad, suavizar la dureza de la ley con una interpretación, de modo que a un individuo determinado se le declare con autoridad no estar, entonces, sujeto a ella. La dispensa no convierte las cosas malas en buenas; simplemente declara que es más justo que suceda así que como está establecido en la letra de la ley. Sepúlveda afirma solemnemente que el Pontífice puede dispensar en las leyes naturales y divinas concernientes a las obligaciones de los hombres; ello, bien entendido, si se dispone de una causa que haga que sea más provechoso y equitativo el dictaminar así que según la letra de la ley. De cualquier forma, y aunque para toda dispensa se requiere utilidad o necesidad, no siempre se exigen las mismas condiciones de necesidad o conveniencia; en este sentido, cuanto más autoridad y rectitud tiene una ley, tanto mayor es la causa requerida para la dispensa. La causa ha de ser, pues, menor en las leyes normales, un poco mayor en las divinas, y mayor aún en las naturales.

Una vez concluida esta minuciosa exposición sobre la dispensa, sobre los distintos tipos de leyes existentes y sobre sus creadores e intérpretes, Sepúlveda ha dejado perfectamente delimitado el marco jurídico en el

que contemplar más adelante la absoluta legitimidad del matrimonio de Enrique y Catalina y, en consecuencia, la imposibilidad de disolverlo mediante el divorcio solicitado por el rey.

Ése, y no otro, es el objetivo primordial del libro tercero, en el que, a modo de síntesis, se hace un nuevo recuento de los impedimentos del matrimonio y, de forma paralela, un esclarecedor estudio de las dispensas que jurídicamente el Papa puede llegar a otorgar en cada caso. Según Sepúlveda, en el primer impedimento, el de la coacción y el miedo, no hay lugar para la dispensa, pues el libre consentimiento es, por así decir, la forma y la sustancia del acto de contraer matrimonio. En virtud del derecho pontificio, la entrada en una orden religiosa obstaculiza el matrimonio, así que no les está permitido a sacerdotes y monjes recibir dispensa sin una causa de bastante consideración, pues los que profesan en una orden han hecho voto de castidad y ésta, lógicamente, rivaliza con la procreación de hijos, fin específico del matrimonio. Y lo mismo hay que decir en lo referente al impedimento de distinta religión por estar éste enteramente apoyado en el derecho pontificio, aunque antaño lo estuviera en el derecho divino. No obstante, en lo que concierne a los impedimentos basados en la razón de honradez pública y en la consanguinidad espiritual, que no sólo se apoyan en el derecho pontificio sino que, es más, son introducción explícita del mismo, se requiere una causa de menor peso. En cuanto al impedimento de tener varias esposas, aunque ello no está propiamente vetado por el derecho natural y sí, en cambio, por Cristo en la ley evangélica, no hay lugar en él para la dispensa sin una causa muy considerable. Por último, las leyes divinas que prohíben los matrimonios de consanguíneos entre sí no parecen rechazar del todo la moderación del Pontífice cuando, por tratarse de un caso de necesidad extrema, existe un motivo muy justificado para ello. Y si esto es así en los impedimentos de consanguinidad, cuánto más en los de afinidad, exigiéndose, tanto en unos como en otros, mayor o menor causa para la dispensa en función de los grados de consanguinidad o afinidad que unen a los cónyuges. Y así es como, al hilo de este razonamiento, Sepúlveda consigue demostrar al fin que no hay razón alguna para invalidar el matrimonio de Enrique VIII de Inglaterra con Catalina de Aragón, al tiempo que culpa a los consejeros del monarca de haber imbuido en éste el escrúpulo de actuar contra la religión si permanecía casado con la que, en primeras nupcias, había sido esposa de su hermano Arturo. En su opinión, la dispensa otorgada por el Pontífice Julio fue absolu-

tamente válida, y, al concederla, aquél actuó haciendo uso de su legítimo poder conforme a la doctrina de las Sagradas Escrituras, ya que el primer matrimonio de Catalina, del que no sólo no tuvo ningún hijo sino que, incluso, permaneció inviolada, en modo alguno habría de constituir impedimento.

Sin duda, no dejará de sorprender a cualquiera que hojee, aunque tan sólo sea por encima, las páginas del *De ritu nuptiarum* la enorme desproporción que existe entre las dimensiones del libro segundo y las de los otros dos, en apariencia los más directamente entroncados con la idea central de la obra, a saber, la problemática en torno al rito de las nupcias y la particular situación generada por el conflictivo divorcio del rey de Inglaterra. Contrariamente a lo que pudiera esperarse, el libro primero no es más que un detallado estudio desde el punto de vista jurídico de los distintos impedimentos del matrimonio, mientras que en el libro tercero los esfuerzos de Sepúlveda van encaminados a poner de manifiesto la rotunda validez de la dispensa gracias a la cual pudo celebrarse el matrimonio de Enrique VIII con la viuda de su hermano Arturo, siendo, justamente, el libro segundo, consagrado por entero a la delicada cuestión de la dispensa, el que evidencia una mayor dedicación por parte del autor. Y es que Sepúlveda, consciente de la importancia de fijar lo más inequívocamente posible el concepto de dispensa así como de determinar la suma potestad para otorgarla que reside en el Pontífice, y con el fin de sentar una base teórica irrefutable en la que fundamentar sus conclusiones sobre el polémico caso del momento, no duda en recurrir a cuantos mecanismos hay a su alcance susceptibles de dotar a su exposición de la máxima claridad.

A decir de Looz-Corswarem<sup>17</sup>, en el *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione* “spricht mehr der Kanonist, wenn auch in klassischer Form, ohne die den Text auflösende Fülle von Zitaten, die man sonst in ähnlichen Abhandlungen der Zeit findet”. Si bien esta afirmación de Looz es bastante cierta, y la presencia de citas nunca llega a entorpecer el discurso, también es verdad que Sepúlveda, como buen entendido en derecho canónico y de gentes e instruido en fuentes clásicas, hace frecuente alusión, en apoyo de sus argumentos, a testimonios de la más variada índole; son abundantes, pues, los pareceres de filósofos: “vt docent philosophi” (I,1), “teste Aristotele” (I,1), “vt Plato tradit” (II,1), “vt Cicero prudentissime definiuit” (II,4); de santos: “sic placet

<sup>17</sup> O.c., p. 52.



Augustino" (I,1), "authore Paulo" (I,7), "vt testatur Hieronymus" (I,21); las citas de decretos de concilios y de los santos padres: "sanctorum patrum Ambrosii, Chrysostomi, et Isidori, iurisque pontificii autoritate, sed etiam ciuilib" (I,3), "Quibus Vrbanensis concilii decretum vel in primis astipulatur" (I,7), "decretum est concilii Triburientis" (I,9); los testimonios de entendidos en derecho: "Quamobrem Paulus prudentissimus iurisconsultus ... inquit ..." (I,11); o, en general, los de personas instruidas: "Dispensatio igitur, vt a viris doctissimis definitur, est ..." (II,1), "vt viri doctissimi tradidere" (I,8); y, sobre todo, acude de manera continuada a las fuentes evangélicas y a las obras de Santo Tomás, de las que reproduce pasajes íntegros.

De cualquier forma, y a pesar de toda esta erudición, la obra no resulta nunca excesivamente tediosa gracias, entre otros recursos, al empleo generoso de esclarecedores ejemplos con que la ilustra: "exemplo Jacob ..." (I,4), "Primi generis affinitas ... vt inter leuirum et glorem, inter Esau, exempli gratia, et Rachel vxorem Jacob fratris ejus" (I,16), "vt exemplo potest commodius explicari" (I,17); y a ese dejar constancia de hechos de los que él mismo ha sido testigo presencial: "citare tamen possem synagogae Iudaeorum testimonium, quae praeceptum illud hactenus obseruat religiose, vt nuper Romae a Iudaeorum legis peritissimis perquirendo didicimus. qui hoc ipso anno in eadem vrbe testati sunt vsu venisse, vt ipsorum quidam ... vxorem duceret" (III,6).

Si quisiéramos ahora hacer un somero repaso de algunos de los rasgos del latín de Sepúlveda, y, más en concreto, del latín en que está escrito el *De ritu nuptiarum*, convendría que no perdiéramos de vista en ningún momento el carácter literario de este latín; y no sólo de "su" latín, sino del latín que encontramos en los escritos de todos los humanistas. Se trata de una lengua fijada hace tiempo y sin cambio lingüístico importante. Esto es, la evolución lingüística en el caso de la morfología está bloqueada completamente, y, en parte, en el caso de la sintaxis; también el vocabulario de base es el mismo, si exceptuamos los neologismos; podríamos decir, en efecto, que el neologismo es el único elemento que puede caracterizar desde un punto de vista lingüístico el latín del Renacimiento, si bien Ijsewijn<sup>18</sup> nos advierte que no todas las palabras nuevas pueden calificarse de neologismos.

<sup>18</sup> J. Ijsewijn, "Le latin des humanistes français. Évolution et étude comparative", *L'humanisme français au début de la Renaissance. Colloque internat. de Tours* (XIVème stage). De Pétrarque à Descartes, XXIX (Paris, 1973), pp. 330-331.

En el caso particular de Sepúlveda, y comenzando por lo referente al léxico, encontramos en él un doble principio que rige sus escritos:

a) Elimina, en la medida de lo posible, los barbarismos y las expresiones que son traducciones demasiado literales de una lengua vernácula. Es frecuente, pues, el empleo de términos clásicos a los se da una significación moderna: “*praesul*”/prelado, “*Pontifex Maximus*”/Sumo Pontífice, “*christiana respublica*”/cristiandad, “*concilium*”/concilio, “*summus sacerdos*”/Papa, “*peccatum*”/pecado, “*miraculum*”/milagro, “*communio*”/comunidad, “*sacerdos*”/sacerdote. Y si no tiene más remedio que introducir un término nuevo, entonces, añade sistemáticamente expresiones del tipo “*vt dicunt*”, “*vt vocant*”, etc.: “*per dispensationem appellatam*”, “*ex vocatis sacramentis*”, “*cum patrinis matrinisque vocatis*”, “*qui compadres inter se, et commatres appellantur*”, “*quae graeco vocabulo dicitur oeconomica*”, “*quin pontifici maximo, quem papam appellamus, ferendi ... legis, potestas longe maior quam cunctis regibus ... tributa sit*”, “*docet scholium quoddam, sive glossa vocari debet*”.

b) Tal y como era práctica normal en la época, hace uso de muchas palabras introducidas en la Edad Media para enriquecer el vocabulario: “*cardinalis*”, “*episcopus*”, “*presbiterus*”, “*caelibatus*”, “*clericus*”, “*diaconus*”, “*subdiaconus*”, “*archiepiscopus*” ... Y, junto a esto, como tantos otros humanistas, crea a menudo voces nuevas siguiendo las leyes de la lengua latina, o, en ocasiones, incluso, tomándolas directamente del griego.

Señalemos también, para terminar con esta escueta semblanza de las directrices que regulan el léxico de Sepúlveda, que, al ser el *De ritu nuptiarum* una obra de derecho canónico fundamentalmente, son abundantísimos los tecnicismos del tipo “*coniugium*”, “*consanguinitas*”, “*affinitas*”, “*cognatio*”, “*connubium*”, “*nuptiae*”, “*propinquitas*”, etc.; y, del mismo modo, se acude con frecuencia al empleo de términos que toman una significación muy concreta en función del contexto en el que aparecen, términos tales como “*ratio*”, “*quaestio*” o “*rectitudo*”.

En lo que a la morfología se refiere, no se detectan en el texto anomalías realmente significativas, y, en cuanto a la sintaxis, lo más destacable es el marcado gusto de Sepúlveda por las estructuras hipotéticas, en detrimento de las paratéticas y mucho más simples de la Edad Media. No en vano, muchos coetáneos suyos se referían a él con el calificativo de “Cicerón español”, entre otras cosas, por esa tendencia manifiesta a la construcción de largos períodos oracionales cuajados de subordinadas de todo tipo.

Las particularidades reseñables, por último, desde el punto de vista de la fonética carecen de mayor trascendencia, y son, en suma, reflejo de la pronunciación del latín de la época. He aquí, a modo de ejemplo, algunas de ellas:

- Confusión de *e* y *ae*: “caeterum”, “haereditario”.
- Confusión de *e* y *oe*: “foemina”, “foenerari”.
- *i* es remplazada por *e* de forma esporádica: “vendicet”, “internicionem”.
- Gutturales sordas aparecen representadas por guturales aspiradas: “charitas”, “simulachrum”.
- Confusión esporádica del grupo *ti*, *ci*: “precium”, “pronunciata”, “enunciandum”.
- Asimilación: “solenniter”, “quanquam”, “eandem”, “summisa”.
- Simplificación de geminadas: “literis”, “solennem”.

Así pues, en conclusión, y dada la escasa relevancia de las peculiaridades fonético-morfológico-sintácticas reseñadas, hemos de mostrar nuestro total acuerdo con el parecer de Ijsewijn cuando afirma que “une étude du latin humaniste doit être avant tout une étude d'évolution stylistique”<sup>19</sup>, ya que el cambio no ha sido de naturaleza lingüística, sino que lo que ha cambiado según las épocas ha sido la imitación, más o menos fiel, del uso que los principales autores clásicos han hecho de esta lengua literaria, así como la tolerancia hacia las influencias vulgares y extranjeras, ante todo griegas.

Sin lugar a dudas, y a pesar del secular abandono a que se ha visto sometido, el *De ritu nuptiarum et dispensatione* abre un extenso campo de trabajo tanto para los estudiosos del Neolatín, que con toda seguridad encontrarán en él más de un aspecto interesante con el que saciar sus inquietudes filológicas, como para los entendidos en derecho canónico, a quienes no puede resultar indiferente tan exhaustivo tratado sobre un tema de perenne actualidad y de tan amplias repercusiones. Ya lo dice el propio Sepúlveda no más comenzar su disertación sobre el matrimonio:

“Quid est enim tam naturale, quam maris et foeminae coniunctio causa prolis generandae, non solum hominibus, sed cunctis etiam perfectis animantibus? Tolle hanc maris et foeminae coniunctionem, omne genus non dico hominum, sed animantium sustuleris.” (I,1).

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<sup>19</sup> *O.c.*, en nota 14, p. 330.

JOSÉ MARÍA MAESTRE MAESTRE

NOTAS DE CRÍTICA TEXTUAL Y HERMENEUTICA A LA  
OBRA POÉTICA LATINA DE ANTONIO SERÓN. IV:  
EL POEMA LÍRICO A CARLOS MUÑOZ.

Continuamos en el presente trabajo<sup>1</sup> nuestras notas de crítica textual y hermenéutica a la obra poética latina de Antonio Serón, editada en Zaragoza (1982) por J. Guillén<sup>2</sup>. A nuestros tres anteriores artículos remitimos en lo concerniente a la metodología y objetivos generales que nos hemos trazado<sup>3</sup>. En el último de ellos, que estudia la *Ad Carolum Mummiū querela*, encontrará el estudioso información sobre la figura de Carlos Muñoz y sus relaciones con Serón.

El poema del que ahora nos ocuparemos, es el más largo de los tres que dedica nuestro poeta bilbilitano al canónigo de Tarazona<sup>4</sup>: sus trescientos sesenta y nueve versos nos impiden desafortunadamente, por obvias razones de brevedad, ofrecer todo el texto, como hemos hecho en los artículos anteriores.

<sup>1</sup> Dedicamos este artículo a la memoria de nuestro querido maestro y amigo D. Antonio Holgado Redondo.

Agradecemos, por otro lado, al Dr. D.J. Gil Fernández la ayuda prestada a lo largo de la elaboración del mismo.

<sup>2</sup> Guillén, J., *Obras completas de Antonio Serón* (Zaragoza, Institución "Fernando el Católico", 1982), vols. I-II.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Maestre Maestre, J.M., "Notas de crítica textual y hermenéutica a la obra poética latina de Antonio Serón. I: el epicidio a Valencia por la muerte de Juan Angel González", *Faventia*, en prensa; "Serón contra Arbolanche: relaciones de las literaturas latina y vulgar del Renacimiento", trabajo presentado en el Ciclo de Conferencias de Filología Clásica que en Homenaje a D. Antonio Holgado Redondo organizó el Departamento de Filología de la Universidad de Cádiz del 2 al 7 de mayo de 1988 (aparecerá en *Excerpta philologica Antonio Holgado Redondo sacra*, Servicio de Publicaciones de la Universidad de Cádiz, en prensa); "Notas de crítica textual y hermenéutica a la obra poética latina de Antonio Serón. III: la *Ad Carolyum Mummiū Serranum querela*", *Anales de la Universidad de Cádiz*, en prensa.

<sup>4</sup> Además de mencionarlo en otros pasajes de sus obras, Serón dedica a Carlos Muñoz la *querela* (68 vv.), la *sylua* XII (177 vv., aunque parece estar incompleta), y el presente *carmen lyricum* (369 vv.). Para mayor información, cf. nuestro artículo "Notas de crítica textual... III".

Al igual que el *epicedium* y la *Inuectiua contra Arbolanches*, también este poema pasó de la muchas veces enrevesada letra del código matritense, B. N., Ms. 3663<sup>5</sup> a ser impreso por primera vez en 1982 por J. Guillén<sup>6</sup>. No figura, pues, tampoco, en la edición antológica de D. Ignacio de Asso del Río<sup>7</sup>.

El *carmen lyricum* fue escrito también cuando Carlos Muñoz era Canónigo de Tarazona<sup>8</sup>, al igual que la *querela*. Es probable, por tanto, que también fuese escrito sobre los años 1566-68.

Distinto es el lugar desde donde Serón escribe ahora a Carlos Muñoz: la *querela* se escribió en Huesca, pero el *carmen lyricum* parece que fue escrito en Calatayud, como nos indican los vv. 165-196 del mismo.

El motivo del poema es también el de pedir ayuda al Canónigo de Tarazona, como nos deja bien claro la estrofa final del poema que luego citaremos. Serón está cansado de andar errante de un lado para otro, como le dice a Morfeo en los vv. 77-80:

*Nulla dicetur domus? Et uaganti  
quando erit sedes? Peregrinus, errans,  
pauper, extorris ero ciuitatum et  
accola semper?*

Del contenido del poema, hemos de decir que Serón se vale de un tópico tan manido por él<sup>9</sup> como antiguo, un sueño<sup>10</sup>. El poeta está dormido y se le aparece entonces Morfeo. Tras desechar la idea de ir a Tarazona, ambos abandonan Calatayud y se dirigen en una nave voladora al Monte Carmelo: allí le saldrá al encuentro la propia Virgen del Carmen. Y de todo ello se da cuenta a Carlos Muñoz, cuya invocación abre y cierra el poema.

A nivel formal, los trescientos sesenta y nueve versos se reparten de la siguiente manera:

- vv. 1-244. Estrofas sáficas.
- vv. 245-265. Sáficos endecasílabos.
- vv. 266-285. Estrofas sáficas.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. B.N., Ms. 3663, ff. 81<sup>r</sup>-87<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 20-42.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Asso del Río, I. de, *Antonii Seronis Bilbilitani carmina* (Amstelaedami, apud Heredes C. Sommer et Socios, 1781).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Ser., *Lyr.* 45-52.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Ser., *Eleg.* VI; *Sylu.* I 71-91.

<sup>10</sup> Recuérdese, por ejemplo, el famoso *Somnium Scipionis* de CIC., *Rep.* VI 9-29.

- vv. 286-298. Sáficos endecasílabos.
- vv. 299-306. Estrofas sáficas.
- vv. 307-329. Sáficos endecasílabos.
- vv. 330-369. Estrofas sáficas.

El cambio de estrofas sáficas a sáficos endecasílabos *katà stichon* sirve para diferenciar formalmente del resto de la composición tres pasajes que rompen el hilo narrativo normal de la misma: el primero (vv. 245-265) es un largo canto en boca de Serón, mientras que el segundo (vv. 286-298) y el tercero (vv. 307-329) contienen las palabras del vate bilbilitano a la Virgen del Carmen y las de ésta a aquél, respectivamente.

El empleo del sáfico endecasílabo encadenado es frecuente en las tragedias de Séneca, dentro de los *cantica* del coro, como nos recuerda, por ejemplo, *Phaed.* 274-324<sup>11</sup>. Serón imita al poeta cordobés al escribir en sáficos endecasílabos *katà stichon* los tres pasajes mencionados. Es más, ha de señalarse que el primero de ellos (vv. 245-265) forma, claramente, un *cantus* independiente, según ya anticipamos y nos evidencia el *cecinit* del v. 243 que los introduce. Tal es, en fin, lo que quiere decir la anotación que encontramos, precisamente, antes del v. 245 y que no logra explicar el moderno editor<sup>12</sup>:

*Imitatur Senecam in tragoediis.*

Con todo, es evidente que el mencionado cambio de metro es admisible, desde la óptica clásica, en la tragedia, pero no en una composición lírica. Hay que circunscribir, pues, el fenómeno a la mezcla de géneros de la literatura latina renacentista<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Crusius, F., *Iniciación en la métrica latina* (Barcelona, Bosch, 1973), p. 113; y, más concretamente, Luque Moreno, J., *Evolución acentual de los versos eólicos en latín* (Universidad de Granada, 1978), pp. 77-90. Cabe señalar, por otro lado, que en Sen., *Med.* 579-669, otro canto del coro, encontramos primero siete estrofas sáficas normales que luego dan paso a otras siete series de ocho sáficos endecasílabos y un adonio: la combinación, pues, que hace Serón en el poema lírico de estrofas sáficas y sáficos endecasílabos encadenados no resulta así tan extraña.

<sup>12</sup> Guillén incorpora la anotación, aunque entre paréntesis, al texto latino. Luego en nota a la traducción del v. 244 nos dice: "*Imita a Séneca en las tragedias, avisa el poeta. Es curioso que cuando entona un canto seguido lo hace ahora en endecasílabos sáficos ininterrumpidos*". Resulta evidente, pues, que el moderno editor no capta el sentido de la anotación, ni enmarca la combinación métrica dentro del problema de la mezcla de géneros (cf. nota 13).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Maestre Maestre, J.M., "La mezcla de géneros en la literatura latina renacentista: a propósito de la *Apollinis fabula* del Brocense", *Actas del Simposio IV Centenario de la publicación de "La Minerva" del Brocense (1587-1597)* "(Cáceres, 20-22 de mayo de 1987)", (Cáceres, 1989), pp. 145-187.

Entremos ahora en nuestras notas de crítica textual y hermenéutica de algunos versos del *carmen lyricum*<sup>14</sup>.

vv. 1-4. He aquí la estrofa tal y como la imprime el moderno editor:

*Colle sublimi generate Cinti,  
quem manu forti domitor ferarum  
fertur extincto statuisse Caro  
Carole Mummi.*

Guillén aclara en nota a la traducción que Serón alude en estos versos a la patria de D. Carlos Muñoz, Tarazona, pero no explica que el *Cintio* es el punto más alto de la población, donde se halla la fortaleza que fabulosas tradiciones denominaron *Alcazar de Hércules*, para ser más tarde *Azuda* entre los árabes, luego palacio de los monarcas de Aragón hasta 1312 y, finalmente, palacio episcopal desde 1386.

En la misma nota de la edición de Zaragoza se nos recuerda que Tarazona fue fundada por Tubalcáin y reedificada por Hércules, cual reza en el escudo de armas de esta ciudad<sup>15</sup>. Por ahí van, efectivamente, los tiros de Serón, como claramente nos indica una anotación marginal al *Herculis urbem* de *Sylu. I* 14<sup>16</sup>:

*Tyriaso uel Tyriasona, quam Hercules statuit.*

Guillén olvida, sin embargo, al editar el v. 3 que junto a Tarazona está, como nos recuerda SER., *Quer. 14* y *Arag. I* 645, o más concretamente, SER., *Sylu. I* 286 y XI 124 el *Caumenus*, esto es, el Moncayo.

En consecuencia, se imprime *Extinto... Caro*, cuya traducción (*una vez muerto Caro*) y el *Índice de nombres propios* final<sup>17</sup> nos demuestran que no se trata de un error de imprenta.

<sup>14</sup> Dejaremos a un lado, por razones de espacio, una serie de correcciones a la puntuación del texto que hace Guillén: recuérdense, así, que los puntos que imprime al final de los vv. 4 y 8, han de cambiarse en comas para unir las dos primeras estrofas al *sis* del v. 9.

<sup>15</sup> *TVRIASONA. TVBALCAIN ME AEDIFICAVIT. HERCVLES ME REAEDIFICAVIT*, es la inscripción que se lee en el borde del mencionado escudo de armas de Tarazona.

<sup>16</sup> Corregimos, de acuerdo con *M* (f. 106<sup>r</sup>), el *Tyraso* que erróneamente imprime Guillén (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 208). Precisamos, por otra parte, que también el nombre de Tarazona, como ya hicimos constar en nuestro anterior artículo (cf. Maestre Maestre, J.M., "Notas de crítica textual... III", nota 21), se explica, aquí mismo, prácticamente, en una nota marginal a SER., *Sylu. I*, 22, que hemos de encuadrar dentro de las fabulosas etimologías humanísticas: *A Tyriis et Ausoniis, sociis Herculis, urbs sibi nomen uindicauit*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 280.

Pero hay que recordar que, dentro de las míticas explicaciones humanísticas, el Moncayo debe su nombre (*Mons Cacus*) al famoso ladrón Caco, como nos recuerdan *Las Abidas* de Arbolanche<sup>18</sup> que, según demostramos, leyó Serón<sup>19</sup>:

[ ... ] veys como Caco el que primero  
labro armas defensiuas y ofensiuas  
de vn encumbrado monte que Moncayo  
despues vino a llamarse a causa suya,

*Caco* es, pues, lo que, sin duda alguna, ofrece *M*<sup>20</sup>.

vv. 13-16.- La noche llega a España. He aquí cómo fija el moderno editor la estrofa:

*Merserat Titan radios profundo,  
Campus et Stellae nebula repleat  
sidus Eoum Hesperiam tenebris  
undique cingens.*

y su traducción:

*Había sumergido el sol sus rayos en el mar profundo, y el  
Campo de la Estrella se había cubierto de niebla, ciñendo el astro  
oriental a toda la Hesperia con tinieblas.*

Pero es evidente que *repleat* es un verbo transitivo y que su complemento directo ha de ser *sidus Eoum*: así es Santiago de Compostela el que, al cubrir de niebla al sol, envuelve en tinieblas a toda España<sup>21</sup>.

vv. 45-48.- Veamos lo que le responde Morfeo a Serón, según imprime Guillén:

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Arbolanche, J., *Las Abidas*, Edición, estudio, vocabulario y notas de F. González Ollé (Madrid, Clásicos Hispánicos, 1972), vol. II (Edición facsimilar y notas), f. 84<sup>v</sup>, 22-25. Para la influencia de Annio de Viterbo y de otras fuentes en el pasaje, cf. Campo, L., *Jerónimo de Arbolancha (poeta del siglo XVI): su vida y su obra* (Pamplona, Editorial "La Acción Social", 1964), pp. 281-286.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Maestre Maestre, J.M., "Serón contra Arbolanche:...", apartado III.2, fundamentalmente.

<sup>20</sup> Con tal sigla denominamos, lógicamente, cual en nuestros anteriores artículos, al códice matritense, B.N., Ms. 3663.

<sup>21</sup> La alusión a Santiago de Compostela se entiende mejor si se recuerda que, al parecer, Serón vivió algún tiempo en Galicia, y, concretamente, en Tuy, como cabe deducir, por ejemplo, de *Eleg.* V 75-86 (cf. Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 33-36). No debe pensarse, sin embargo, que el poema lírico fuera escrito en Galicia, pues, como ya dijimos, los vv. 165-196 del mismo nos hacen pensar que fue escrito en Calatayud.



*Ille respondit, uolucris uehemur  
puppe per nubes Chalybes ad arctam  
sunt ubi sacrae iuga celsa Suda  
Herculis arces.*

que luego nos traduce así:

*El respondió: "Somos conducidos en una nave voladora a través  
de las nubes, a la estrechura del Queiles, donde están las elevadas cimas  
de la Zuda, sagradas fortalezas de Hércules".*

Pero es obvio que *Chalybes ad arctam* que Guillén interpreta como *a la estrechura del Queiles*, no tiene sentido. El problema se soluciona leyendo correctamente el código matritense. Lo que allí aparece es una palabra que también encontramos en el v. 111 de esta misma composición y que sí que transcribió bien, en este caso, el moderno editor: *actam*. Morfeo propone, pues, a Serón dirigirse *a la ribera del Queiles*.

v. 55.- *laudat attollit recitat reffertque*, imprime Guillén. Debe corregirse, no obstante, de acuerdo con *M*, la obvia errata *reffertque*, cuya primera sílaba no cabe en el endecasílabo sáfico, en *refertque*.

vv. 61-64.- *siue licenter peragras ad Indos*, leemos en la moderna edición de Zaragoza. Pero es evidente que ese *licenter* que luego se nos traduce por *audazmente* no tiene cabida en el endecasílabo sáfico por ser breve su primera sílaba. El vocablo ha de corregirse, de acuerdo con *M*, en *liuentes*, adjetivo que va, obviamente, con *Indos*<sup>22</sup>.

vv. 81-88.- Excepción hecha de algunos detalles meramente gráficos, Guillén edita fidedignamente estas dos estrofas tal y como aparecen en *M*:

- "*Mitte, Libertas, mihi crede, nullo  
ueniit nummo, satius futurum  
arbitror cursu Syrias in oras  
praepete adire,  
tenditur latos ubi mons in agros  
cuius it uertex modo si recordor  
arduus caelo aerium et cacumen  
sidera tangit.*

<sup>22</sup> El significado de *liuentes* ... *Indos* no es otro que el que nos aconseja el *nigris* ... *ab Indis* de OV., *Ars* I 53 o el *Mauro obscurior Indus* de IVV., XI 125.

pero luego no interpreta bien el pasaje:

*“Descuida, se entregó la libertad sin precio alguno, créeme, pienso que será lo mejor el dirigirnos con curso rápido a las regiones Sirias, donde el monte llega hasta los campos extensos, cuyo vértice, si bien recuerdo, va lanzado hacia el cielo y su elevada cumbre toca las estrellas.*

pues, en primer lugar, *libertas... nullo/ ueniit nummo* tiene totalmente el sentido contrario al que acabamos de ver. *La libertad no se vende a ningún precio*, es lo que le dice Morfeo a Serón para consolarlo luego de que éste se quejara en los versos 73-80, inmediatamente anteriores, de su *destierro*.

Y, por otra parte, no debe traducirse *mons* por *el monte*, sino por *un monte*, ya que hasta el v. 97 no sabremos con certeza total que se trata del monte Carmelo.

Por último, no es del todo correcto afirmar, como se hace en nota a la traducción del v. 86, que “*es obvio que el poeta exagera la altura de este monte*”, sino que, simplemente, hay que entender el pasaje como una manifestación más del manido tópico de la *Überbietung* <sup>23</sup>.

vv. 89-101.- Como acabamos de ver, Morfeo ha propuesto a Serón volar hacia un monte, cuya elevada cúspide se describe ahora. En la moderna edición de Zaragoza encontramos el siguiente texto latino:

*Cuius a summa gelidus corona  
manat in multos liquidusque riuos  
fons profusus, rura rigantur atque  
refluit unda.*

y la siguiente traducción:

*De su elevada cúspide fluye una fresca y líquida fuente repartida  
en muchos arroyos, se riegan los campos, y vuelve a su cauce la  
corriente.*

Pero una consulta a *M* nos hace ver que ese *liquidusque*, que resulta tan extraño dentro del sintagma *in multos... riuos*, ha de corregirse en *liquidusque* con lo que desaparece todo el problema.

vv. 93-124.- En los vv. 93-96 se dice que el monte del que se habla

<sup>23</sup> Cf. Maestre Maestre, J.M., “El tópico del sobrepujamiento en la literatura latina renacentista”, *Actas del VII Congreso Español de Estudios Clásicos*, en prensa.

había sido elogiado por el *Mantuano* conocido como el *Marón cristiano*<sup>24</sup>; en los vv. 97-100 se añade que éste había ensalzado, *laudibus summis et multo carmine*, a los *profetas que habitaron en primer lugar el Carmelo*<sup>25</sup>; a partir de ahí, desde el v. 101 al 124, nos encontramos un *excursus* donde se narran una serie de prodigios de esos *profetas*, que, naturalmente, aunque no se diga su nombre, son Elías y Eliseo.

Es cierto, que para escribir sobre los milagros de los dos profetas, Serón tiene *in mente* VVLG., *III Reg.* 17-18 y *IV Reg.* 2-6, como hace constar Guillén en las notas a los vv. 101-122.

Así son los respectivos pasajes bíblicos los que, paradójicamente, nos obligan a corregir la traducción que hace Guillén de los vv. 110-112 y 113-114. Los primeros:

[...] *et saltu in pueros loquaces  
misit horrenti rediens ab acta  
fluminis ursos.*

se traducen:

[...] *y volviéndose de la ribera del río lanzó con salto terrible unos osos  
contra los jóvenes descarados.*

pero VVLG., *IV Reg.* 2,23-25 nos obliga a considerar *saltu... horrenti* como el *hórrido bosque* desde el que envía los osos Eliseo contra los descarados jóvenes que se reían de él llamándole calvo.

De otra parte, los vv. 113-114:

*Ferreum ligno reuocat securim  
gurgite immersam senior profundo*

se interpretan en la moderna edición como:

*Vuelve el anciano a su mango la hoja de la segur, sumergida en un  
profundo remolino, [...]*

pero el *Praecedit... lignum* de VVLG., *IV Reg.* 6,4 nos obliga a

<sup>24</sup> Variante del tópico del *sobrepujamiento* (cf. nota 23), que también hallamos, por ejemplo, cuando Nebrija llama *Vergilius Christianus* a A. Gómez de Ciudad Real al principio de su carta al lector en la *Thalichristia* (Compluti, MDXXII) de éste. Pero, para entender mejor la lógica comparación de Mantuano con el vate de Mantua por antonomasia y el calificativo de *cristiano*, cf. la epístola-dedicatoria de *Laurentius Cupaerus* al comienzo del primero de los cuatro tomos de los *Opera omnia* del humanista italiano (cf. nota 27).

<sup>25</sup> *Carmeli indigenas priores... uates*, dice el texto latino. Guillén olvida el término *uates* y traduce erróneamente a los *primeros habitantes del Carmelo*.

considerar el *ligno* de Serón no como un dativo dependiente de *reuocat*, sino con un ablativo instrumental dependiendo del mismo verbo, ya que Eliseo saca a flote el hacha que se había caído en el río arrojando al agua un *trozo de madera*.

La influencia de la *Vulgata* en el *excursus* de Serón es obvia, pero las Sagradas Escrituras no son, a nuestro juicio, la principal fuente del pasaje: recordamos que Mantuano era carmelita y que, como nos advierte el propio Serón, elogia en sus versos latinos al monte Carmelo y a Elías y Eliseo. He aquí una composición sobre la festividad de S. Eliseo<sup>26</sup> del *Fastorum liber sextus* del italiano que bien puede ser la que inspiró a nuestro compatriota el *excursus* sobre los dos profetas de los vv. 101-122<sup>27</sup>:

#### DE S. HELISEO CARMELITA.

*O pater, o princeps, o dux Helisee meorum*  
*Heliadum, qui Caesariae coluere penates,*  
*Et uada Iordanis Libano uenientia, salue:*  
*Lux tua post Idus Iuni quae prima resurgit.*  
*Carmeli laetatur apex, fons inclytus ille* 5  
*Quem pater Helias sitiens potare solebat,*  
*Illa luce sinum magis implet et undique ripas*  
*Transiliens recreat positos in margine flores*  
*Ac maris in uirides decurrit alacrius undas.*  
*Te pater omnipotens ob relligiosa prophetam* 10  
*Pectora constituit liquidoque infudit oliuo.*  
*Igneus Heliam currus cum sustulit, ipse*  
*Admiratus equos contemplabare uolantes*  
*Per nebulas, tibi discedens quasi pignus amoris*  
*Proiecit clamydem, potuit quae fluminis undam* 15  
*Sistere et exclusis uada reddere peruia lymphis.*

<sup>26</sup> Se celebra el 14 de junio, como nos recuerda el v. 4 de la composición de Mantuano: y de ahí que se imprima en el *Fastorum liber sextus*, que, como ya se habrá imaginado, contiene las festividades del mencionado mes.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. I. *Baptistae Mantuani carmelitae, theologi, philosophi, poetae et oratoris clarissimi opera* (Antuerpiae, Apud Ioannem Bellerum, sub insigni Aquilae aureae, 1576), t. II, p. 311<sup>r</sup>-311<sup>v</sup>. Otras obras en prosa de Mantuano sobre los carmelitas, y, más concretamente, su *Carmelitarum apologia* y su *De laudibus Carmelitarum et de uiris illustribus eiusdem ordinis*, los encontrará el lector interesado en el último de los cuatro tomos que conforman la mencionada edición.

*Tu facis e uacuo uiduam miseratus oliuum*  
*Emanare cado, sterili producis ab aluo*  
*Progeniem uetitam, paruo post tempore cum mors*  
*Inuidisset eam matri subitaque fuisset* 20  
*Vi praedata animam, tu morte potentior artus*  
*In teneros reuocas uitam de limite Auerni.*  
*Tu ferrum in latices lapsum super alta natare*  
*Aequora iussisti, succo colocyntida amaro*  
*Illico fecisti missa similagine dulcem.* 25  
*Tu Iordanis aquis genus immedicabile morbi,*  
*Quam dixere malam scabiem lepramque fugasti.*  
*Assyrios qui te captum uenere latrones*  
*Illaqueas: isti morbo est Aorasia nomen.*  
*[ ... ]*  
*Tu uentura canis, tu regni auriga fuisti*  
*Israel et uigilans Solymorum in puppe magister.* 35  
*[ ... ]*  
*Flecte acies in nos pater et tua respice uultu*  
*Tecta pio, quae seruat adhuc Carmelus in alto*  
*Vertice: barbaricas gentes de finibus illis* 45  
*Eiice et exulibus da prima habitacula nobis.*

Varias son las razones que nos hacen pensar en la influencia de este poema del humanista italiano a la festividad de S. Eliseo en el poema lírico de Serón:

a).- En los vv. 5-9 se habla de la cumbre del monte Carmelo y se describe bucólicamente la fuente del mismo en la que solía beber el profeta Elías.

Serón saca a colación la cumbre del Carmelo y la mencionada fuente en los vv. 85-92, precisamente antes de comenzar el *excursus*: luego, al margen de los vv. 125-140, hará también una bucólica descripción de la misma fuente en los vv. 245-265.

b).- El poema del italiano comienza recordando algunos momentos de la vida de Elías: en los vv. 12-14 se alude al *carro de fuego*, al tiempo que los vv. 14-16 nos recuerdan el episodio en que detuvo la corriente del Jordán con su manto, el mismo que luego arrojó desde el mencionado carro a Eliseo.

También Serón comienza su *excursus* con el profeta Elías y, además, saca a relucir también, los mencionados episodios de la vida de éste en los vv. 105-108.

c).- Luego, el Mantuano saca a relucir una serie de prodigios de Eliseo: las vasijas que se llenaron de aceite milagrosamente (vv. 17-18), el nacimiento de un hijo a una mujer estéril (vv. 18-19), la resurrección de este mismo niño (vv. 19-22), el hacha que emergió del lecho del río (vv. 23-24), las coloquintidas que se volvieron dulces con la harina (vv. 24-25), la curación de la lepra a un magnate de Siria al que hizo lavarse siete veces en el Jordán (vv. 26-27), la ceguera de los esbirros del rey sirio que quisieron hacerlo prisionero (vv. 28-29), el descubrir al rey de Israel los futuros proyectos de los enemigos sirios (v. 34)...

Pues bien, todos estos prodigios aparecen también narrados en el *excursus* de Serón, excepción hecha del de las vasijas de aceite y el de las coloquintidas.

d).- Por último, hay que recordar que Baptista, luego de estudiar filosofía en Pavia, volvió a su casa, de donde lo echó su padre por una calumnia que se levantó contra el poeta: malas fueron sus compañías en su vida de estudiante, como luego confesará en su *De uita beata*. Así que nada de extraño tiene que el poema del italiano termine con un *exulibus da prima habitacula nobis*, y que Serón, a quien también se le había echado de la casa de su padre, luego de que éste falleciera, sueñe con ir al Monte Carmelo y acabar allí, como Mantuano, con su vida de *desterrado*.

Así nos lo hace ver el contenido de los vv. 73-80, en los que Serón se queja de su *destierro*, y el de los vv. 306-314, en los que la propia Virgen del Carmen ofrece a Serón la morada del Carmelo para que este deje de ser *exul, extorris, profugus uagusque*, como leemos en el v. 313. Y así, en fin, entendemos mucho mejor que Serón acabe su poema rogando a Carlos Muñoz en términos parecidos a los que el Mantuano a Eliseo:

*Nunc uides qualem mea sors reliquit,  
exulem, extorrem auxiliique egentem:  
uiue tu laetus miserum et tuere,  
Carole, uatem.*

Serón, pues, tuvo presente la *Vulgata* para escribir el mencionado *excursus* de su poema lírico, ya que, por ejemplo, narra en los vv. 101-104 unos prodigios de Elías<sup>28</sup> que no encontramos en el poema del italiano: igual ocurre en el v. 109 del poema lírico que nos recuerda el

<sup>28</sup> Concretamente, el hacer que no lloviera en cien años, salvo que él lo ordenara (VVLG., *III Reg.* 17,1), el matar junto al torrente de Cisón a los profetas de Baal (VVLG., *III Reg.* 18,40), y el hacer bajar fuego del cielo (VVLG., *III Reg.* 18,38).

prodigio de Eliseo de hacer potables unas aguas que no lo eran<sup>29</sup>. Pero tanto el *excursus* como incluso la totalidad de la composición no se entenderían completamente, si no acudimos, como en cierta manera nos estaba aconsejando el vate bilbilitano en los vv. 93-96 del poema, a la obra latina en verso de Mantuano: su influencia en otros poemas de nuestro compatriota ha de ser, por otra parte, estudiada, como aconsejan algunas notas marginales, como las de SER., *Eleg.* VII 559 y 573: *Mantuanus in Eclogis* <sup>30</sup>.

Un buen ejemplo, en suma, para demostrar la influencia de los contemporáneos en la literatura neolatina, y, más concretamente, el gran papel que jugaron los humanistas italianos en el Renacimiento hispano.

v. 126.- *iste per multos habitatur annos*, edita Guillén correctamente, aunque sin apuntar en el aparato crítico que lo que encontramos en el códice matritense no es *per multos* sino *permultos*. La corrección de Guillén, empero, es acertada, como decíamos, por cuanto que *per multos... annos* está avalado, entre otros, por VERG., *Georg.* II 208 y *Aen.* VII 60 u OV., *Pont.* III 2,65

vv. 133-136.- Serón describe la vid que, como es sabido, crece en el Carmelo: nos encontramos así con una estrofa de la que el moderno editor nos dice al final de la nota a su traducción que “*no es un pasaje fácil*”. Lo es, en verdad, tal y como él, desafortunadamente, la imprime:

*Vitis annosas religat retexit  
uitis umbrosas folio tenaci  
uitis incuruans referet lacertis  
flexilis ulmos.*

y que luego, pese a ser consciente, según vemos en la citada nota, del grave problema métrico que supone considerar las tres formas *uitis*, cuya desinencia es breve, como acusativo plural, nos traduce de la siguiente manera:

*Sostiene las parras añosas, cubre las cepas umbrosas  
con hojas tenaces, y encorvando los pámpanos flexibles  
los sujeta a los olmos con sus brazos.*

<sup>29</sup> Cf. VVLG., IV Reg. 2,19-22.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. B.N., Ms. 3663, f. 77r (corregimos el *eglogis* que en ambos casos ofrece M y que Guillén edita como *Eglogis* (cf. Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 174 y 176).

Luego, en la nota a la traducción, nos dice, además:

[ ... ] Pero *uitis* acusativo plural tiene la -is larga. Si *uitis* es singular será el sujeto de todos los verbos, y *annosas* y *umbrosas* irá con *ulmos*, entonces la traducción sería: “La vid entrelaza los viejos olmos frondosos y los viste con sus hojas tenaces, y encorvándose flexible los alarga con sus brazos”, traduciendo en presente el futuro *referet* [ ... ]

El problema se soluciona leyendo correctamente el v. 135: no es *uitis incuruans referet lacertis* sino *uitis incuruis refouet lacertis* lo que nos ofrece *M*. Las tres formas *uitis* son, pues, nominativo singular, como exige la métrica, y *refouet* es un presente como *religat*.

vv. 145-148.- He aquí la estrofa como la imprime Guillén:

*Vita dum praesens comitatur aeuum  
spiritus mentem regit et tuetur  
cum calor membris residet fouetque  
corporis artus.*

que luego nos la traduce de la siguiente manera:

*Mientras dura esta vida, y el espíritu rige y defiende la mente, y  
reside el calor en los miembros y fomenta las articulaciones del cuerpo.*

Conveniente es principiar indicando que delante de *aeuum* encontramos en *M artus*, hecho que no recoge el moderno editor en el aparato crítico. El borrado sin embargo, nos confirma que Serón pensó imitar totalmente a VERG., *Aen.* IV 336:

*dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus*

pero el que *regit* tuviera ya un complemento directo, *mentem* para ser más exactos, y el *corporis artus* del v. 148, que también encontramos CIRIS 198, le hicieron sustituir el término por *aeuum*.

De otra parte, tenemos que el *cum* del v. 147 resulta extraño, aunque para el moderno editor, al omitirlo en la traducción, no ha supuesto obstáculo alguno. Una consulta a *M* nos soluciona el problema: *dum* es lo que también escribió Serón allí, como nos hacía suponer el mencionado verso de VERG., *Aen.* IV 336.

vv. 157-160.- Guillén fija la estrofa de la siguiente manera:

*Proinde si inceptos iuuat hinc meatus  
flectere ad ductas properemus oras  
admoue Morphea et religa lacertis  
carbasa mali.*



y luego la traduce de esta otra:

*Por tanto, si es el deseo cambiar desde ahora el camino emprendido, dirijámonos a las regiones señaladas, apresúrate, Morfeo, y desata las velas de los lazos del mal.*

Ya nuestro maestro J. Gil<sup>31</sup> hizo ver, para el v. 159, que *Morphea* no cabe en el metro y que hay que corregir, de acuerdo con el código matritense, en *Morpheu*.

Pero aún quedan dos problemas más en la estrofa: en primer lugar, el *ad ductas...* oras del v. 158, que el moderno editor en nota a la traducción intenta justificar “*por analogía con la dicción ducere sortes*”, ha de sustituirse, de acuerdo con *M*, en *dictas*. Serón recuerda a Morfeo la conveniencia de dirigirse a las mencionadas regiones, esto es, *Syrias in oras*, como ya se anunciaba en el v. 83.

De otra parte, nos encontramos con el *lapsus* de Guillén al traducir los vv. 159-160. Hay que señalar que *lacerti* no significa *lazos* sino *brazos*, y que *mali* tiene aquí la primera vocal larga, por lo que, habida cuenta del contexto, designa el *mástil* de la nave voladora<sup>32</sup> en la que van Morfeo y Serón. Y que esto es así nos lo asegura OV., *Met.* XI 476, o mejor, OV., *Met.* XIV 433:

[ ... ] *ad carbassa malum*

que han inspirado el adónico de Serón. “*Desata con tus brazos las velas del mástil*”, es lo que éste le dice a Morfeo.

vv. 163-164.- [ ... ] *remitte/ uela cerastis*, imprime Guillén que luego traduce “[ ... ] *aleja las velas de los pueblos Cerastas*”<sup>33</sup>. Pero ya J. Gil<sup>34</sup> señaló que detrás de ese *cerastis* que el moderno editor corrige a partir de un supuesto *Cerachis*, el código matritense no escondía otra cosa que *ceruchis*. Como al final, pues, de la estrofa anterior, Serón ordena a Morfeo que suelte las velas de las amarras.

vv. 169-172.- Serón comienza a razonarle a Morfeo por qué desea abandonar los penates patrios. El moderno editor nos ofrece la siguiente estrofa:

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Gil, J., “Crítica textual y humanismo”, en *La crítica textual y los textos clásicos* (Universidad de Murcia, Sección de Filología Clásica, 1986), p. 83.

<sup>32</sup> Recuérdese el *uolucris... puppe* de los vv. 45-46.

<sup>33</sup> Cf., además, la nota de Guillén a la traducción de los vv. 161-164, donde se defiende la lectura e interpretación del citado *cerastis* (cf. Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 31).

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Gil, J., *art. cit.*, pp. 82-83.

*Nullus in uotis mihi uesperugo,  
Hesperus sordet, ueneris nec astrum  
Cypriae arridet sacra cui quotannis  
thure uaporant.*

que luego nos traduce de manera sorprendente:

*No se oscurecerá en mis deseos la estrella de la tarde, ni me faltará el astro de Venus, en cuyo honor ofrezco todos los años víctimas con incienso.*

El código matritense no difiere en nada del texto editado por Guillén, excepción hecha de que allí encontramos *Vesperugo* y *Veneris* con mayúscula, como debe ser.

Creemos, sin embargo, que hay que colocar una coma al final del v. 169 y considerar aquí una oración con elipsis de la forma *est*. De otra parte, *arridet*, presente y no futuro, al igual que *sordet*, tiene el sentido contrario al que le da el moderno editor: no ha de traducirse por *faltará* sino por *es propicio*. En suma, Serón se vale de tres oraciones para decir lo mismo, que el astro de Venus no le es propicio en Calatayud:

*Nada me ayuda Vesperugo en mis deseos, Héspero se torna oscuro y no me es propicio el astro de la diosa de Chipre, en cuyo honor una vez al año el incienso llena de humo el sacrificio.*

vv. 175-176.- Guillén edita estos versos de la siguiente manera:

*nauseam notus mouet, et sodalis  
displicet omnis.*

y luego los traduce de esta otra:

*[ ... ] su viento me da náuseas, y los amigos me enojan.*

Pero es obvio que Serón no quiere dejar Calatayud porque el *Noto* le da náuseas, ya que en tal caso la primera vocal de *notus* sería breve, sino por algo que cuadra perfectamente con el final de la estrofa:

*[ ... ] los conocidos me dan náuseas y todos mis compatriotas me desagradan.*

v. 178.- El moderno editor imprime un *quem* que, de acuerdo con *M*, ha de corregirse en *quam* ya que su antecedente es el vocativo *mater Calaiuba* del verso anterior.

vv. 182-184.- Guillén fija el pasaje de la siguiente manera:

[ ... ] *Numquid doluisti amyclis  
mater, exutum miserum poetam  
fraude paternis?*

que luego traduce así:

[ ... ] *¿Sentiste por fortuna algún dolor, oh madre, cuando viste a tu  
miserio poeta despojado fraudulentamente de sus bienes paternos?*

El problema, obviamente, está en la interpretación de ese *amyclis* que el moderno editor imprime en minúscula tanto aquí como en los restantes pasajes de Serón en los que aparece:

SER., *Eleg.* VII 557 [ ... ] *patriis spoliatus amyclis*  
SER., *Sylu.* I 341 [ ... ] *patrias populatus amyclas*  
SER., *Sylu.* II 368-369 [ ... ] *spoliatus amyclis*/ [ ... ] *patriis* [ ... ]  
SER., *Arag.* III 467-468 [ ... ] *amyclis*/ *excussus patriis* [ ... ]

En nota a la traducción de SER., *Sylu.* II 368, Guillén dice que no encuentra la palabra *amyclae* en ningún otro sitio fuera de nuestro vate bilbilitano<sup>35</sup>. Es evidente, pues, que al moderno editor se le escapa el sentido exacto de los pasajes citados.

Para la correcta edición e interpretación de los citados pasajes hay que mantener la mayúscula que el código matritense nos ofrece en SER., *Lyr.* 182 y *Arag.* III 467-468<sup>36</sup>, lo que nos lleva, sin lugar a duda, a *Amyclae*. Pero ¿qué tiene que ver aquí la célebre ciudad que fue tomada al asalto porque se le prohibió a sus habitantes anunciar la llegada del enemigo, a fin de evitar temores inútiles<sup>37</sup>? Recuérdesse que

<sup>35</sup> Cf. Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 281.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. B.N., Ms. 3663, ff. 84<sup>v</sup> y 52<sup>v</sup>, respectivamente: el manuscrito, empero, presenta el vocablo en minúscula en Ser., *Eleg.* VII 557, *Sylu.* I 341 y II 368-369 (cf. *ibid.* ff. 76<sup>v</sup>, 111<sup>v</sup> y 118<sup>v</sup>, respectivamente). Puntualizamos que también Asso escribe en minúscula el vocablo en Ser., *Eleg.* VII 557, *Sylu.* II 368-369 y *Arag.* III 467-468 que él publica en su edición antológica (cf. Asso del Rio, I. de, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 150 y 69, respectivamente).

<sup>37</sup> Recuérdesse, por ejemplo, Lvcil., *apud* Serv. ad Verg., *Aen.* X 564 (cf. nuestra nota 41) *Mihi necesse est loqui, nam scio Amyclas tacendo periisse*; Sil., VIII 528 *Vulturum, quasque euertere silentia, Amyclae*; *Pervig. Ven.*, 92 *Sic Amyclas, quum tacerent, perdidit silentium*. También se puede aducir el adagio de Erasmo *Amyclas perdidit silentium* (adagio nº 801, ed. de Leyde, t. II, 1703, 334 F), como bien señalara respecto a Ser. *Sylu.* VI 170-171 J. Chomarat en la reseña crítica que de la edición de J. Guillén publicó en *Revue des Etudes Latines* 61 (1983), p. 374. Por último, sobre las distintas versiones referentes a la ubicación y destrucción de esta ciudad, cf. Forcellini, *Ae., Lexicon totius Latinitatis*, MCMLXV, Arnaldus Forni excudebat Bononiae Gregoriana edente Patauui (reimpresión de 1965), t. V (*Onomasticon* (Auctore Iosepho Perin),

Serón era hijo de un clérigo, el Vicario General Antonio Serón<sup>38</sup> y que tal extremo había de silenciarse obligatoriamente en el testamento de éste, como ya hizo ver en el prefacio de su edición antológica D. Ignacio de Asso del Río, haciendo gala de su sólida formación de jurista<sup>39</sup>:

[ ... ] *quo tempore e uita decedens, cum Clericorum filii patriis Aragoniae legibus in bonis paternis succedere non possent, heredes fideicommissarios nuncupauit Antonium Perez et Antonium Caluum.* [ ... ]

En consecuencia, aunque Serón sospechase que los futuros fideicomisarios de su padre, y, especialmente, Antonio Calvo, contra quien arremete a lo largo de sus poemas<sup>40</sup>, iban a faltar a su palabra, a él no le quedaba más remedio que callarse ante el imperativo legal mencionado y sus lógicas repercusiones en la sociedad de su tiempo.

Así pues, la herencia de nuestro poeta, de la que ni él ni nadie podía hablar en público, tuvo un final parecido al de la *silenciosa*<sup>41</sup> ciudad de Amiclas. No hay, pues, a nuestro juicio más que una imagen que puede recogerse en la traducción: *despojado fraudulentamente de la herencia de mi padre cual lo fue Amiclas*.

v. 190.- *lilio ornatum, latro, fur, Procrustes*, imprime Guillén corrigiendo correctamente el *Procrustes* que se lee en *M*, según se hace constar en el aparato crítico. Pero aquí no se anota que entre *lilio* y *ornatum* hay borrado un *et*, que, aunque lógico por cuanto que uniría

pp. 110-111, s. u. *AMYCLAE*; Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart, 1987), I.2, 1996, 25-1997, 37, s. u. *Amyclai*.

<sup>38</sup> Recuérdese la nota marginal a Ser., *Sylu.* II 788 (= II 798 en la edición de Guillén (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 310) que numera erróneamente a partir de Ser., *Sylu.* II 550): *Curio generalis, Antonius Sero, pater Seronis, [ ... ] Qui omnia bona sua tradidit d. Ant. Caluo. Ille autem bonus uir (nefas) implumem relinquens Seronem, haeredem constituit et rei et fidei Romerum et Franciscam eius sororem*.

Guillén, al hablar de la herencia defraudada, no tiene en cuenta para nada la condición de clérigo del padre de nuestro poeta y afirma que Serón “*acudió a los representantes de la justicia, que no pudieron ayudarle legalmente porque no había documento alguno sobre la entrega del depósito*” (*cf.* Guillén, J., *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 20).

<sup>39</sup> *Cf.* Asso del Río, I. de, *op. cit.*, p. 4. Asso afirma, además, que el padre de Serón, de acuerdo con unos datos que le facilitó D. Miguel Monterde, fue Vicario General desde 1516 a 1530, punto que, al menos en lo que a 1518 se refiere, parece negar Fuente (*cf.* Fuente, V. de la, *Historia de la siempre augusta y fidelísima ciudad de Calatayud* (Calatayud, Imprenta del Diario, 1881), t. II, p. 222).

<sup>40</sup> *Cf.* Ser., *Eleg.* VII 84 y 555, y, mejor aún, *Lyr.* 359.

<sup>41</sup> Recuérdese a Verg., *Aen.* X 564 [ ... ] *tacitis regnauit Amyclis* (*cf.* nota 37).

*lilio al geminis puellis* del verso anterior, no tiene cabida en la escansión del sáfico endecasílabo, y de ahí que se tachara.

vv. 197-200.- El moderno editor nos presenta esta estrofa de la siguiente manera:

*Insula apparet pelago flagelli  
cincta Tyrrheno celebris rotatu  
lactis et flauae Cereris abundans  
terra triformis.*

que luego nos traduce de esta otra:

*Aparece una isla ceñida por el mar Tirreno, célebre por el chasquido  
del látigo, la tierra triangular abundante en leche y en dorado trigo.*

Aparentemente no hay ningún problema, pero en nota a la traducción Guillén afirma que “*la estrofa no es clara*”. El interpreta que la *isla ceñida por el mar Tirreno* es Sicilia y de ahí que acabe su nota indicando que no sabe por qué se le atribuye a sus habitantes la condición de buenos honderos propia de los de las islas Baleares.

Pero el problema se soluciona fácilmente recordando al propio Serón, *Arag.* I 66-69:

*Iam mare Tyrrhenum, pelagoque inclusa biformis  
insula uanescit, ponti et quam diuidit ingens  
impetus, et late Latiis disterminat oris  
Trinacris. [ ... ]*

También aquí hace Serón un viaje fantástico, aunque guiado ahora no por Morfeo sino por Cintia, y en el camino sobrevuelan las islas Baleares y después Sicilia.

En la estrofa que nos ocupa, pues, tan sólo hemos de colocar una coma al final del v. 198 e interpretar que Morfeo y Serón tienen a la vista primeramente una de las islas<sup>42</sup> que rodea el Tirreno, y célebre no por el látigo, como traducía Guillén, sino por la honda, esto es, una de las islas Baleares, y después la tierra de los tres promontorios y donde abundan la leche y el dorado trigo, esto es, Sicilia.

Y si alguna duda queda todavía de que el poeta bilbilitano alude a

<sup>42</sup> El singular poético de Serón pudiera justificarse por la referencia, sin más, una de las islas Baleares (dos para el mundo antiguo, como nos atestiguan Ampel., 6 o Isid., *Orig.* XIV 6,44), o por cuanto que el plural *insulae* exigiría un *cinctae* que no cabe en el metro.

las Baleares, compárense los vv. 197-198 de nuestro poema lírico con SER., Arag. II 74:

*insula Tyrrheno Balearica cincta profundo,*

o con SER., Sylu. V 267:

*nec minus horrifero Balearica funda rotatu*

y SER., Arag. III 367<sup>43</sup>:

*Infremit horribili Balearica funda rotatu,*

v. 201.- *Hinc mare incuruis ratibus retextum*, imprime acertadamente el moderno editor, pero sin apuntar en el aparato crítico que entre *mare* e *incuruis* se escribió *ratibus* que después, lógicamente, se tacha: nos encontramos, pues, ante un error por anticipación y una prueba más de que *M* es una copia y no un autógrafo<sup>44</sup>.

v. 214.- *incolit summum ferimur per aethra*, edita Guillén. En el caso de *aethra* lo único que ha sucedido es que no ha desarrollado el trazo de nasalización que encontramos en *M*: *aethram* es, pues, lo que allí pone.

Pero *aethram* es femenino. Hemos de corregir, por tanto, en *summam* el *summum* que nos ofrece tanto Guillén como el propio código matriense, en este caso: otra prueba más, en fin, de que *M* es una copia y no un autógrafo<sup>45</sup>.

v. 219.- *constitit mecum lenis ales alto*, imprime el moderno editor. Pero es evidente que *lenis* con su primera sílaba larga no puede ser lo que encontramos en ese lugar del sáfico endecasílabo.

Guillén, por otra parte, traduce *lenis ales* por *ligera ave*. Pero eso exige que *lenis* sea *leuis*, como de hecho encontramos en *M* y nos hacía pensar el *leuis... ales* de OV., Hal. 6.

vv. 225-228.- Al llegar al Monte Carmelo, salen al encuentro unas serpientes que asustan a primer golpe de vista al viejo poeta de Calatayud. He aquí el pasaje tal y como lo presenta el moderno editor:

<sup>43</sup> = Ser., Arag. III 368 en la edición de Guillén, que numera erróneamente a partir de Ser., Arag. III 330.

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Maestre Maestre, J.M., "Notas de crítica textual... I", nota 38; y, especialmente, "Serón contra Arbolanche:...", apartado II.2.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. nota 44.

*Horruit primo Calaiubae alumnus  
horruit uisu senior poeta  
terga serpentum, resonantque squamae at-  
que ingruit, horret.*

que luego traduce:

*Se horrorizó al pronto el poeta de Calatayud al contemplar los lomos  
de las serpientes, y se llena de terror cuando suenan y resuenan las  
escamas.*

Luego en nota a la traducción de esta estrofa se nos traen a colación unos pasajes de CIC., *Tusc.* V 85; *Verr.* V 74 y HOR., *serm.* II 5,9 para intentar justificar que *terga* es el complemento directo de los anteriores *horruit*. Pero eso, obviamente, no explica el brusco cambio de sujeto del *horret* final, al tiempo que deja en el aire el *ingruit* del mismo adonio.

Creemos, sin embargo, que *terga* es sujeto junto con *squamae* de *resonantque* y que la enclítica de este verbo no une otra cosa que la hendiádis que forma su doble sujeto. Tal interpretación tiene un claro apoyo en VERG., *Aen.* V 87-88, donde también se describe a una serpiente:

*caeruleae cui terga notae maculosus et auro  
squamam incendebat fulgor [ ... ]*

y también en el *squamea... terga* de VERG., *Georg.* III 426 y *Aen.* II 218-219.

Además, los *horruit* de los vv. 225-226 se entienden simple y perfectamente con el *primo... uisu* de los mismos sáficos endecasílabos. Y, para colmo, el *horruit primo uisu* de Serón se corresponde con lo que sobre la reacción de Eneas ante la citada serpiente hallamos en VERG., *Aen.* V 90:

*obstupuit uisu Aeneas. [ ... ]*

Más necesario es resolver las dificultades del adonio. Pero sus problemas no son tales, pues lo que ha sucedido en este caso, como en otros muchos, es que lo escrito en el anverso de la hoja no se lee con claridad por transparentarse la tinta del reverso. No es *ingruit, horret* lo que nos ofrece *M* sino *ingruit horror* que soluciona el pasaje. Y, si alguna duda cabe, recordemos a VERG. *Aen.* II 301:

*[ ... ] armorum ingruit horror*

vv. 237-238.- Serón domeña con su canto a las serpientes que le han salido al encuentro. He aquí como fija Guillén el pasaje:

*Leniit cantu resono feroces  
leniit uersus colubres hiantes*

que luego traduce así:

*Domeña con su armonía y con sus versos a las serpientes que centelleaban sus lenguas, [ ... ]*

Es evidente que hemos de corregir, para el v. 238, el *colubres* que imprime Guillén, en el *colubros* que ofrece *M*. De la misma manera el *uersus* que aquí mismo ofrece el moderno editor, aunque luego traduce bien, como si fuera un ablativo, ha de corregirse en *uersu*, tanto más lógico a la luz del *cantu resono* del verso anterior: pero en este caso la confusión se debe a que el copista del código matritense ha escrito un *uersus* cuya silbante final parece, sin embargo, querer tachar luego.

v. 245.- *obstabit horror metus aut draconum*, encontramos en la moderna edición de Zaragoza. Pero la segunda sílaba de *obstabit* es larga y el sáfico endecasílabo nos exige ahí una breve.

Aparentemente el código matritense ofrece el mismo texto que Guillén, pero una atenta lectura nos hace ver que al pie de la primera letra de *horror* hay un signo parecido a una «s» transversal e idéntico al colocado al pie de la primera letra de *obstabit*. El copista nos indica así que el orden de palabras del verso debe ser el siguiente:

*horror obstabit metus aut draconum*

v. 266.- *Haec est effatus petiit cacumen*, imprime Guillén, pero, al igual que sucedía en el v. 245, la segunda sílaba de verso se nos presenta larga y no breve como debiera: una consulta a *M* nos hace corregir *est* en *et*.

vv. 278-281.- Serón y Morfeo, tras alcanzar la cumbre del Monte Carmelo, llegan al templo que hay allí, de donde les sale al encuentro la Virgen del Carmen. El moderno editor nos ofrece el siguiente texto:

*Vix fores templi stetit ante magni  
Bilbili natus facie nitenti  
exit et ipsis adytis et austris  
uirgo decora,*



que luego traduce así:

[ ... ] apenas se detuvo ante las valvas del gran templo el hijo de Calatayud, salió del fresco santuario una Virgen hermosa, de aspecto resplandeciente,

Pero si cotejamos el texto latino anterior con *M* descubriremos que son dos los errores de lectura que hay en el v. 280.

De una parte, al igual que en *SER.*, *Epic.* 2, Guillén ha leído *et* donde el códice no ofrece sino *ex*, que, por otra parte, es lo esperado después de *exit*.

En segundo lugar, no es el extraño *austtris* lo que se lee en *M*, sino *antris* <sup>46</sup>.

vv. 284-285.- Serón se dispone a hablar a la Virgen del Carmen. He aquí cómo fija Guillén el pasaje:

*Troïus uates fuit haec locutus*  
*uertice nudo:*

y su traducción:

[ ... ] dijo el vate troyano desde la cumbre desnuda.

En primer lugar, conviene aclarar, cosa que no hace Guillén, que la expresión *Troïus uates*, que también encontramos en el v. 234 del poema lírico, se explica igual que la de *Dardanus*... *senior* que hallamos, aquí también, en el v. 275: Serón se considera descendiente de los troyanos. No olvidemos que, de acuerdo con una tradición mítica, Calatayud fue fundada por Bellino, hijo de Bruto, que, a su vez, lo era de Ascanio, el vástago de Eneas. Así, por ejemplo, nos lo hace ver *SER.*, *Sylu.* II 609<sup>47</sup>:

*Tempore quo excelsam Bellinus condidit urbem*

y la nota marginal a este mismo verso que encontramos en *M*<sup>48</sup>:

*Bellinus filius Bruti, regis Anglorum, Ascanii filii, condidit Calaiubam.*

<sup>46</sup> Recuérdese que en el Carmelo existen numerosas cuevas, y que entre ellas la principal, que los cristianos llaman *Escuela de los Profetas* y los musulmanes *Gruta del hijo del Profeta*, fue, según la tradición, morada del profeta Elías.

<sup>47</sup> = *SER.*, *Sylu.* II 619 en la edición de Guillén (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 296 (*cf.* nuestra nota 38)).

<sup>48</sup> Corregimos, de acuerdo con *M* (f. 122<sup>r</sup>), el *condit* que imprime erróneamente Guillén (*cf.* nuestra nota 47) en la citada anotación.

Más necesario es corregir la traducción del adonio *uertice nudo*, que Serón pudo sacar de OV., *Fast.* III 753. El vate troyano no se dirige a la Virgen del Carmen *desde la cumbre desnuda*, como ha traducido Guillén por influencia quizá de los vv. 270-274 del poema, que nos presentan a las cumbres del Carmelo calcinadas por las nieves, sino *tras haberse descubierto la cabeza*, en señal de respeto, lógicamente.

Finalmente, hemos de señalar el cambio narrativo de primera<sup>49</sup> a tercera persona<sup>50</sup> en el poema a partir del v. 225 (*Horruit primo Calaiubae alumnus*), que explica el *locutus est* del verso que ahora nos ocupa: luego, a partir del v. 330 (*Induor pallam et niueum cucullum*) la narración vuelve de nuevo a la primera persona<sup>51</sup>.

v. 299.- *Dixerat uates, humilisque uoce*, imprime el moderno editor. Pero una consulta a *M* nos obliga a corregir *humilisque* en *humilique*, que, lógicamente, concierta con *uoce*: nos encontramos así, en ablativo, el cliché *humilesque uoces* de OCTAVIA 494.

vv. 307-311.- Luego de que Serón se dirigiera a la Virgen del Carmen en un pasaje (vv. 286-298), inspirado en VERG. *Aen.* 1,325-329, sobre todo, y en OV., *Met.* III 609-612, ésta responde a nuestro vate. He aquí cómo fija Guillén el pasaje:

*"Sit satis, Sero, teneris ab annis  
quod pererrato peregrinus orbe  
at remenso inuenias quietem  
saepe quaesitam innumero labore  
sisque per casus uarios reductus;*

que luego traduce así:

*"Ya es bastante, Serón, el que desde tus tiernos años hayas peregrinado por todo el mundo; y es hora de que logres la tranquilidad buscada ansiosamente; [...]"*

En el aparato crítico, por otra parte, sólo se indica en este pasaje lo siguiente para el v. 309:

[ ... ] at / scripserat atque deleuit — que, est hiatus in uersu. [ ... ]

<sup>49</sup> Recuérdese, por ejemplo, el *meos* del v. 21, el *aspexi* del v. 37, el *respondi* del v. 73 y el *meus* del v. 221.

<sup>50</sup> Recuérdese, por ejemplo, además del v. 225, el *horruit* del v. 226, el *mulcet* del v. 235, el *constitit* del v. 276, el *reposcit* del v. 302.

<sup>51</sup> Recuérdese, por ejemplo, el *sumo* del v. 331, el *duco* del v. 332, el *iaceo* del v. 339, el *repeto* del v. 340, el *uolui* del v. 350 o el *timerem* del v. 365.

Pero una atenta consulta a *M* nos hace ver, en primer lugar, que en el v. 308 el copista escribió delante de *orbe* un *ab* que luego tacha. Seguramente se confundió con el *ab* del verso anterior: una prueba más, en fin, de que el código matritense es una copia y no un autógrafo<sup>52</sup>.

De otra parte, es cierto, como indica Guillén que primero se escribió *atque* y que luego se tachó el *-q.* abreviado, pero el moderno editor no se percató de que la primera vocal de la anterior palabra también se ha corregido: no es la conjunción adversativa *at*, que resulta extraña en el texto, sino la coordinativa *et* lo que allí hemos que leer.

Finalmente, no hay hiato en este mismo verso: Guillén no se ha percatado de que el copista olvidó escribir un *ex*, en anástrofe, entre *remenso* e *inuenias* y que, por ello, lo escribió luego encima del verso entre ambas palabras<sup>53</sup>. El v. 309 ha de quedar, pues, de la siguiente manera:

*et remenso ex inuenias quietem*

v. 325.- *duc et a caecis nemoris latebris*, ofrece correctamente Guillén, pero sin anotar en el aparato crítico que el copista del código matritense escribió primero *ab* cuya oclusiva labial sonora tachó luego ya que delante de *caecis* no debió escribir Serón otra cosa por fonética-sintáctica que *a*.

vv. 344-345.- Tal es lo que encontramos en la moderna edición de Zaragoza:

*uos precor tuti et misero poetae  
este benigni.*

que luego se traduce así:

[ ... ] *te suplico que protejas y seas benigno con este desgraciado poeta.*

Pero es evidente que *tuti* no puede ser nunca el *tutari* que traduce Guillén. Una consulta a *M* nos soluciona el problema, pues allí no se

<sup>52</sup> Cf. nota 44.

<sup>53</sup> Podría pensarse que este *ex* perteneciera al verso anterior y que hubiera de escribirse, también en anástrofe, entre *pererrato* y *peregrinus*: pero tal posibilidad, fuera de no arreglar el hiato del v. 309, es muy poco probable a la luz de otros añadidos del copista encima también del verso o palabra en la que han de insertarse (cf., por ejemplo, el *tuus* de Ser., *Sylu.* III 14 en B.N., Ms. 3663, f. 106r, o el *fa'ta* de *quer.* 65, *ibid.* f. 81r).

lee otra cosa que *tristi*: Serón, pues, ruega a los dioses que le sean propicios a él, *afligido y desgraciado poeta*.

v. 347.- *colle sublimi generate Cinti*, imprime Guillén, que en nota a la traducción nos dice que el verso es repetición del que abre el presente poema lírico. Pero esto no es del todo exacto, pues *M* ofrece ahora *sublimis* y no *sublimi* como erróneamente edita Guillén y encontramos en el mencionado y arriba comentado v. 1.

vv. 350-353.- He aquí el texto latino de la moderna edición de Zaragoza:

*Non ego argenti uolui talenta  
posco non aurum magis Irus esse  
malo, quam Crassus sitiens egensque  
aeris Eoi.*

La traducción, empero, y la nota al v. 351 nos hacen ver que Guillén entiende que *Crassus* es *Croesus*. Pero no hay un error de imprenta, como pudiera pensarse, en el texto latino, pues es *Crassus* lo que se registra luego en el *Indice de nombres propios*, donde se remite también a SER., *Sylu.* V 57 y VIII 38, y tal es, en fin, lo que ofrece *M* para nuestro v. 352.

Verdad es que SER., *Sylu.* V 57 y VIII 38 hablan de M. Craso, que, famoso por sus riquezas y codicia, formó parte del triunvirato con César y Pompeyo y murió en una expedición contra los Partos. Pero no menos evidente es que el copista del código matritense y, en cierta manera, el moderno editor no se han percatado de que no era *Crassus* lo que escribió aquí Serón, sino *Croesus*, como nos obliga a pensar tanto el *aeris Eoi* del v. 353 (recordemos que se trata del avaro rey de Asia), como el que Creso aparezca contrapuesto a Iro. Aprovechemos así con todas sus consecuencias el acertado pasaje de OV., *Trist.* III 7,42 que nos trae a colación el propio Guillén en la mencionada nota a la traducción del v. 351:

*Irus et est subito qui modo Croesus erat.*

*Croesus* y no *Crassus* escribió, pues, aquí Serón.

vv. 354-357.- Guillén nos ofrece la siguiente estrofa tal y como aparece en *M*:

*Esse si diues uoluisssem haberem  
aurum et argentum, satis et superque  
restiti oblatis simul et repertis  
Carole gazis.*

que luego traduce así:

*Si hubiera querido ser rico, tendría oro y plata. Empeñadamente he  
rechazado, Carlos amigo, riquezas ofrecidas y puestas ante las manos.*

El moderno editor, pues, se deja engañar por la superflua coma que *M* ofrece después de *argentum* y entiende que *satis et superque*<sup>54</sup> depende de *restiti*. Por contra, nosotros creemos que ha de suprimirse la mencionada coma y considerar que la oración de *haberem* llega hasta el final del v. 355, donde sí que hay que poner una puntuación fuerte.

“*De haberlo querido*»- dice, pues, Serón — «*yo habría tenido oro y plata más que de sobra*”.

v. 361.- *Carle, Procrustes*, imprime correctamente *Guillén*, pero olvida anotar en el aparato crítico, como sí que hiciera en el v. 190, que *M* ofrece también aquí un erróneo *Procustes*.

v. 362.- *Sat mihi libros patriasque aedes*, es el sáfico endecasílabo que nos ofrece Guillén de acuerdo con lo que se lee en el código matritense: en él pone Serón lo que hubiera sido la herencia de su padre si no se la hubieran arrebatado<sup>55</sup>. Pero es evidente que en el sintagma *patriasque aedes*, hemos de hacer un raro hiato: el problema, empero, se soluciona recordando que *patrias* forma *iunctura* no con *aedes* sino con *sedes*, como nos recuerda OV., *Met.* XV 23, *Pont.* III 2,84 y *Trist.* I 1,34, Serón debió escribir, pues, *sedes* y no *aedes*.

No queremos terminar el presente artículo sin destacar que el poema lírico a Carlos Muñoz, al margen de proporcionarnos más datos para confirmar que el código matritense es una copia y no un autógrafo, y además de ofrecernos una buena prueba de la mezcla de géneros en la literatura latina renacentista, sin olvidar su importancia para el estudio de la biografía de Serón, nos permite afirmar, a partir de los vv. 93-124 del mismo, que dentro del *latín del laboratorio* de los humanistas juegan, sí, un papel fundamental las fuentes clásicas, pero no menos

<sup>54</sup> Guillén constata la existencia de este cliché tanto en los clásicos como en el propio Serón al comentar el v. 30 del poema lírico.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. notas 38-39.

relevante es, a veces, la influencia de los contemporáneos y, en especial, de los italianos. Tal es, en fin, lo que ocurre en los versos citados entre el Mantuano y Serón.

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COMMENTAIRES SUR LES *RHETORICAE PRAECEPTIONES*,  
ÉPITOMÉ RAMISTE ANONYME DE 1572.

Les *Rhetoricae praeceptiones*<sup>1</sup> occupent la première partie (folios 2<sup>r</sup> à 6<sup>v</sup>) d'un épitomé qui comprend aussi des *Dialecticae praeceptiones* (folios 6<sup>v</sup> à 15<sup>r</sup>), suivies, toutes deux, d'une analyse rhétorico-dialectique de la quatrième *Philippique* de Cicéron (folios 15<sup>v</sup> à 18<sup>v</sup>). Cet épitomé fait partie d'un recueil factice in-4° de la bibliothèque Mazarine<sup>2</sup> et apparaît à la pièce 9, sous le titre suivant :

Rhetoricae || et Dialecticae praeceptiones || singulari artificii laude  
descriptae, et lu- || culentis exemplis partim ex omnibus || prope  
artibus, partim ex quarta || Philippica Ciceronis sum- || ptis, illus-  
tratae. || PARISIIS, || ex Typographia Dionysii a Prato, via Amygda-  
lina, || ad Veritatis insigne. ||1572.

En un mot, dans un petit livre de dix-huit folios, se trouvent réunies à la fois une rhétorique, une dialectique et la *conjunctio* des deux arts dans l'étude d'un discours de Cicéron. Ce qui est déjà suffisant pour ne pas y voir un ouvrage scolaire banal, car, sous son anonymat, se révèle déjà, de par la *dispositio*, sa filiation. Ce compendium est ramiste de la première à la dernière ligne; ce que démontrera une analyse rapide des petits traités.

Chacun se présente d'une façon indépendante avec son titre particulier qui lui donne l'apparence d'un ouvrage autonome. Ainsi la rhétorique :

RHETORICAE PRAE- || ceptiones singulari artificii || laude des-  
criptae, et luculentis exem- || plis illustratae.

Celle-ci est définie *ars bene dicendi* et elle ne comprend que deux parties, *elocutio* et *pronuntiatio*. L'*elocutio* se divise en *tropus* et *figura*, la

<sup>1</sup> Voir annexe 1.

<sup>2</sup> Cote 10248. A.

*pronuntiatio* en *vox* et *gestus*. Voilà l'essentiel du credo ramiste qui persistera, malgré les remises en question, tout au long des diverses rhétoriques. Et si l'on étudie plus attentivement le texte de ce compendium, aussi bien dans ses divisions que dans ses définitions, et le commentaire qui suit le démontrera suffisamment, l'on peut dater cette filiation particulière: le texte du compendium sur la rhétorique se rattache, pour l'essentiel, au texte des dernières rhétoriques, dont l'édition de 1567 constitue l'édition princeps.

Il en va de même pour l'épitomé dialectique dont le titre particulier est le suivant:

Dialecticae praeceptiones singu- || lari artificii laude descriptae, et  
luculentis || exemplis illustratae.

Non seulement suit-il Ramus fidèlement (définition de la dialectique en *ars bene disserendi* ; division de celle-ci en *inventio* et *dispositio* ), mais il fait plus précisément partie de ce que Nelly Bruyère décrit comme l'état V, dans l'évolution de la réflexion de Ramus sur la dialectique<sup>3</sup>. Comparons.

Ainsi "jusqu'en 1565, tous les textes conservent l'ordre des causes selon l'invention [fin-forme-efficience-matière]. Mais alors, un bouleversement radical est opéré. Le nouveau schéma sera celui des *Dialectiques* de 1565 et 1572, des *Praelectiones* de 1566, 1569 et 1572: Efficience-Matière-Forme-Fin"<sup>4</sup>. Or c'est justement ce nouveau schéma qu'adopte l'auteur des *Dialecticae praeceptiones* : "Causa [...] est aut Efficiens, aut Materia, aut Forma, aut Finis"<sup>5</sup>.

De plus, si le *judicium* [ou *dispositio* ] est toujours divisé en *enuntiatum*, *sylogismus* et *methodus* dans l'état V comme dans l'état IV, par contre la méthode qui était divisée en "méthode de doctrine" et "méthode de prudence", devient, dans l'état V, "méthode d'universalité" dont "les méthodes anciennement dénommées" ne sont que de "simples degrés"<sup>6</sup>. Elle est ainsi définie dans le compendium: "Metho-

<sup>3</sup> Nelly Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique dans l'œuvre de La Ramée* (Paris, 1984), pp. 163-168. À cet état se rattachent les *dialecticae* de 1565 et de 1572 ainsi que les *Praelectiones* [*Dialecticae libri duo A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrati*] de 1565, de 1569 et de 1572.

<sup>4</sup> Nelly Bruyère-Robinet, "Le statut de l'invention dans l'œuvre de La Ramée", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986), 22.

<sup>5</sup> F. 7 r°. Le texte de *Dialectica A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrata* (Bâle, Eusebius, 1569), p. 34, est pratiquement identique: "Causa, est efficiens et materia, aut forma et finis".

<sup>6</sup> Voir Nelly Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique* ..., p. 170.



dus, est homogeneorum enuntiatorum suo vel syllogismi iudicio notorum dispositio a generalissimis omnino et absolute seu natura notioribus, ad subalterna lumine et notitia proxima: a subalternis vero ad exempla specialissima minus nota perspicue declarandum”<sup>7</sup>.

Enfin, dans les textes de 1565, 1566 et 1569 de l’état V, *enuntiatum* est la “dispositio qua argumentum de argumento enuntiatur”, ce qui, selon Bruyère<sup>8</sup>, “remplace par un terme plus précis la formule *enuntiare aliquid de aliquo* qui prévalait depuis 1554”. Par contre, dans la *Dialectica* de 1572, comme *iudicium* sera divisé en *axiomaticum vel dianoeticum*, *enuntiatio* disparaîtra au profit d’*axioma* <sup>9</sup>...etc. Or le texte de l’épitomé garde *enuntiatum* qu’il définit “dispositio prima qua argumentum de argumento enuntiatur”<sup>10</sup>. Ce qui est semblable aux textes de 1565, 1566 et 1569.

Donc les *Dialecticae praeceptiones*, même si elles sont datées de 1572, suivent fidèlement les textes de l’état V antérieurs à cette date. Nous pouvons dire la même chose des *Rhetoricae praeceptiones*, qui ne subissent aucune influence de la *Rhetorica* de 1572, puisque lorsque celle-ci s’écarte des *rhetoricae* de 1567 et de 1569, elle s’écarte également du texte de l’épitomé. Or l’on peut affirmer que les éditions de 1572, que ce soit celle de la *Rhetorica* aussi bien que celle de la *Dialectica*, ont été publiées et “révisées par Ramus”<sup>11</sup>. Est-ce à dire pour autant que le texte de l’épitomé a été écrit et publié avant la mort de Ramus? C’est une possibilité, mais il a pu arriver que l’auteur anonyme préparât son texte avant 1572 et ne le fit imprimer qu’après la mort de Ramus ou encore qu’il rassemblât les textes après la mort de celui-ci en s’inspirant tout simplement des traités théoriques antérieurs à 1572.

Il est plus difficile de dater l’analyse de la quatrième *Philippique* qui

<sup>7</sup> F. 14 v°. Comparer ce texte avec la définition de l’état V: “Methodus est dispositio, qua de multis enuntiatis homogeneis, suoque vel syllogismi iudicio notis, disponitur primo loco absoluta notione primum, secundo secundum, tertio tertium, et ita deinceps; ideoque ab universalibus ad singularia perpetuo progreditur. Haec enim sola et unica via proceditur ab antecedentibus omnino et absolute notioribus ad consequentia ignota declarandum”. (Texte de *Dialectica* (1565) p. 37v; *Praelectiones [Dialectica]* (1566), p. 367; (1569), p. 466, cité par Nelly Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 166).

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 164.

<sup>9</sup> Voir Nelly Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 164. Nous citons d’après la *Dialectica* publiée à Paris par Wechel en 1574, p. 51. Voici la définition d’*axioma*: “Axioma est dispositio argumenti cum argumento...” (pp. 51-52).

<sup>10</sup> F. 11 v°.

<sup>11</sup> Nelly Bruyère, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-17, n. 2.

suit les deux textes théoriques sous un titre un peu particulier qui fait office de transition:

ATQUE HAEC SUNT RHETORI — || cae, Dialecticaeque praecepta. Deinceps eorundem || usus et utilitas exemplo quartae Ciceronis || Philippicae demonstratur: cujus haec || summa est.

L'on sait que, dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567<sup>12</sup>, Ramus mentionne qu'il a commenté vingt discours de Cicéron. Or Mignault, dans le commentaire qu'il fait de ce texte, donne la liste de ces discours; on y retrouve les trois premières *Philippiques*, mais non la quatrième<sup>13</sup>. Nancel, dans la liste qu'il énumère<sup>14</sup>, ne parle pas des *Philippiques*. Il est donc difficile d'affirmer péremptoirement que cette analyse plagie ou reproduit une analyse de Ramus sur le même discours et par conséquent d'essayer de lui assigner une date. Toutefois, l'auteur anonyme de l'épitomé est tellement dépendant de Ramus, que nous ne voyons pas pourquoi il ne serait pas toujours tributaire de la pensée de celui-ci dans cette analyse rhétorico-dialectique, qui, elle, est, sans l'ombre d'un doute, ramiste.

Non seulement l'auteur anonyme a-t-il suivi la méthode qu'utilisait Ramus dans l'étude de certains discours de Cicéron<sup>15</sup> (joindre les ressources de la rhétorique et de la dialectique dans l'analyse d'un texte), mais de plus il a fait suivre son analyse d'une postface, où sont conjointes analyse et synthèse, comme le faisait Ramus à la suite des discours qu'il avait analysés<sup>16</sup>.

On a beaucoup parlé de cette *conjunctio* dans des travaux récents consacrés à Ramus<sup>17</sup>. Elle joint donc les ressources des deux arts dans

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 46-47.

<sup>13</sup> A. Talaei *rhetorica*, una cum [...] commentationibus, per Claudium Minoem (Paris 1577), f.28 r°.

<sup>14</sup> P. Rami *vita*, éd. P. Sharratt, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 24 (1975), 190.

<sup>15</sup> Le *Pro C. Rabirio* (1551), le *De Lege agraria* (1552), les *Catilinaires* (1553); pour une étude de cette méthode, voir Nelly Bruyère, *op. cit.*, pp. 315-330.

<sup>16</sup> "Analyseos, et Geneseos Rhetoricae, Dialecticaeque in eandem orationem summa" (f. 18 v°). À la fin de l'analyse de chaque *Catilinaire*, l'on trouve un texte semblable: "Analyseos Rhetoricae et Logicae in Catilinariam primam summa" ou "[...] in secundam Catilinariam summa", etc. Consulter le *Petri Rami Praelectiones in Ciceronis orationes...* (Basileae 1580), pp. 49-50, 72-73 et *passim*.

<sup>17</sup> Nelly Bruyère, *Méthode et dialectique...*, pp. 313-330; Kees Meerhoff, "Pédagogie et rhétorique ramistes: le cas Fouquelin", *Rhetorica*, vol. V, Number 4 (Autumn 1987), 424-425; "Ramus et Cicéron", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986), 29; Pierre Magnard, "L'enjeu philosophique d'une grammaire", *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 70 (1986), 3. Signalons aussi, même si elles sont moins récentes, les

un double procédé (analyse et synthèse) ainsi décrit au début de la postface de l'épitomé: "Ergo in hac oratione superiorum praeceptorum usus et fructus demonstratus est, qui [...] est in analysi, et genesi. Illa virtutes tum Rhetoricas, tum etiam Logicas in authorum exemplis retextit, explorat, et cognoscit: hac vero partim in illis imitandis similibusque confingendis, partim in novis marte nostro commentandis versatur"<sup>18</sup>.

Après un paragraphe introductif, coiffant le texte, dans lequel l'auteur explique les circonstances qui ont motivé ce discours et son objectif principal, l'analyse suit fidèlement le texte de la quatrième *Philippique*. Un appel de note précède le ou les mots que l'on veut commenter, commentaire que l'on retrouve en manchette. Celui-ci, s'il est en général bref, est plus appuyé lorsqu'il s'agit d'expliquer des faits dialectiques. Ainsi la fin de l'exorde est commentée de la façon suivante: "Disseritur deinceps proposita summa argumento ex contrariis. Syllogismus est disjunctus plenus et integer: Aut hostes sunt illi qui persecuti sunt Antonium, aut Antonius hostis contra quem arma sumpta sunt: At primum non est: Ergo secundum. Propositio prima est"<sup>19</sup>. Les figures de diction ne sont que nommées (*polyptoton*, *epistrophe*<sup>20</sup>) et les tropes ont droit à une très courte explication ("Metonymia adjuncti: id est, vos frequentes"; "Metaphora a corpore ad animum"<sup>21</sup>). Enfin, les rares figures de pensée relevées sont étudiées dans la perspective de l'argumentation ("Conclusio superiorum partium inductionis per apostrophem ad Antonium..."<sup>22</sup>; "Complexio syllogismi ex diversis per Prolepsim aucta"<sup>23</sup>). Ce qui est concordant avec l'opinion ramiste sur ces figures<sup>24</sup> et ce qu'explique très bien la postface.

Car, pour bien comprendre cette analyse, pour en saisir toute la *dispositio* et toute la force, il faut nécessairement s'attarder à la synthèse qu'en fait la postface:

pages que consacre René Radouant à ce sujet dans "l'Union de l'éloquence et de la philosophie au temps de Ramus", *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France* 31 (1924), 175-180.

<sup>18</sup> F. 18 v°.

<sup>19</sup> F. 15 v°, n. 12.

<sup>20</sup> F. 15 v°, n. 4 et 6.

<sup>21</sup> F. 15 v°, n. 1 et 11.

<sup>22</sup> F. 16 v°, n. 7.

<sup>23</sup> F. 18 r°, n. 6, notée 9 par erreur.

<sup>24</sup> Voir, plus bas, p. 52.

Initio enim summa totius orationis proponitur: tum ea generali argumento disseritur, et integro syllogismo per totum orationis corpus fuso, rectoque ordine disposito concluditur: cujus assumptio longa quinque partium inductione confirmatur. Singulae vero partes suis etiam argumentis disseruntur, et syllogismis partim simplicibus, partim compositis, nonnullis sententiarum figuris illuminatis judicantur. Complexio generalis syllogismi cohortationem habet ad persequendum Antonium, et quatuor argumentis, syllogismis etiam suis quibusdam constantibus, disputatur. Omnia denique pene troporum et figurarum dictionis genera [...] in hac oratione facillime reperiuntur<sup>25</sup>.

On voit donc alors clairement que, pour l'auteur de cette analyse, le discours tout entier constitue un immense syllogisme avec sa *propositio*, son *assumptio* et sa *complexio* <sup>26</sup>, chacune de ces parties pouvant utiliser les ressources de la rhétorique et de la dialectique. Un retour au commentaire permet d'hierarchiser des notes qui semblaient d'égale importance et qui prennent alors leur sens véritable. Les grandes articulations du texte sont d'autant plus visibles qu'à la synthèse de la postface répondent, en termes presque identiques, les notes qui éclairent le texte. Ainsi:

Postface	Notes
Initio enim summa totius orationis proponitur...	Proponitur summa totius orationis, quod sit a Senatu iudicatus hostis Antonius <sup>27</sup> ...
cujus assumptio longa quinque partium inductione confirmatur.	Assumptio syllogismi quae longa deinceps inductione omnium eorum, qui arma adversus Antonium sumpserunt, disseritur <sup>28</sup> . Prima pars inductionis [...] Secundum caput inductionis[...] Ter-

<sup>25</sup> F.18 v°.

<sup>26</sup> "Syllogismi pars altera antecedit, altera consequitur. Antecedens est, quae adhibetur ad arguendum quaestionem: duasque partes habet, propositionem et assumptionem: Propositio est prima pars antecedentis [...] Assumptio est secunda pars antecedentis [...] Syllogismi pars consequens est quae complectitur partes quaestionis, eamque concludit: unde complexio et conclusio dicitur" (*Dialectica A. Talaiei praelectionibus illustrata* (1569), pp. 345-346).

<sup>27</sup> F. 15 v°, n. 7.

<sup>28</sup> F. 15 v°, n. 13.

tium membrum inductionis[...]  
Quarta pars inductionis[...] Quintum caput inductionis<sup>29</sup>.

Complexio generalis syllogismi cohortationem habet ad persequendum Antonium, et quatuor argumentis, syllogismis etiam suis quibusdam constantibus, disputatur.

Complexio generalis syllogismi per cohortationem ad Quirites, ut Antonium persequantur...  
Primum cohortationis argumentum ex diversis adjunctis...<sup>30</sup>  
[etc].

L'analyse fournit donc les éléments susceptibles d'être imités chez les auteurs, aussi bien sur le plan de la logique que de l'ornementation. À chacun ensuite de faire sa synthèse selon des principes que développe toujours la postface<sup>31</sup>:

Quod si Rhetoricam et Dialecticam ex hoc exemplo cognitae exercere velit adolescens, quid jam restat, nisi ut cum virtutes has ita cognoverit, retexuerit, ac resolverit consimili caussa aliqua posita imitetur? Ac primum quidem quae ad positam quaestionem probandam, aut refutandam adhiberi possint argumenta tum insita tum assumpta videat: deinde quomodo illa sint disponenda consideret: postremo lumina troporum et figurarum adjungat: quibus in rebus tota Genesis posita est.

Sont donc réconciliées dans la synthèse, comme elles l'étaient dans l'analyse, la rhétorique et la dialectique. Rien ne peut être plus ramiste; comme le sont bien des passages de la postface que nous venons de citer: par exemple, le rappel de la division de l'*inventio* dans la toute dernière citation ("argumenta tum insita tum assumpta videat..." etc). Que l'on ne soit pas capable alors, comme on a pu le faire pour la partie rhétorique et dialectique de cet épitomé, de donner une filiation précise à cette analyse, pour être regrettable, n'enlève rien pour autant à la valeur de ce texte et à l'importance qu'il a pour l'étude de la méthode ramiste d'analyse des textes.

Il en va de même pour tout l'épitomé. Qu'importe après tout qu'il ne soit pas signé et que l'on ne puisse lui assigner un auteur particulier! L'on sait que les Ramistes travaillaient en équipe et que, dans l'évolu-

<sup>29</sup> F. 16 r° n. 1 et 12; 16 v°, n. 5 et 12 et 17 r°, n. 4.

<sup>30</sup> F. 17 v°, n. 1 et 2.

<sup>31</sup> F. 18 v°.

tion de la pensée théorique, ils s'influençaient mutuellement. Les travaux de Ramus (*Brutinae quaestiones* et *Rhetoricae distinctiones*) ont influencé la première *Rhetorica* (1548)<sup>32</sup>, signée par Talon, la *Rhetorique* de Fouquelin (1555 et 1557) fait le pont entre cette première rhétorique et la *Rhetorica* de 1557<sup>33</sup>, toujours signée par Talon, et la *Rhetorica* de 1567, même si l'on admet qu'elle a été réécrite par Ramus, garde des notions importantes des rhétoriques antérieures<sup>34</sup>.

De plus cette édition de l'épitomé serait de Ramus<sup>35</sup> ou de l'un de ses disciples que ce ne serait guère étonnant quand l'on connaît le souci pédagogique qui animait les Ramistes. Ong affirme même que "toutes les publications diverses de Ramus soulignent en lui l'éducateur" et il ajoute: "Sur ses quelques 60 ouvrages connus, il n'en est pas un qui n'ait été écrit, implicitement ou explicitement pour la Faculté. En fait, la majorité de ces ouvrages ne sont ni plus ni moins que des textes scolaires. [...] Les treize ouvrages et plus de la plume de son associé littéraire, Omer Talon [...] sont de la même inspiration académique"<sup>36</sup>. Kees Meerhoff, après avoir écrit que l'exposé de celui-ci, dans ses *Institutiones Oratoriae*, était "élémentaire, conçu pour être compris par des garçons de bas âge"<sup>37</sup>, rappelait que "Gibert [louait] les qualités didactiques de l'ouvrage" et concluait de la façon suivante: "Cette préoccupation pédagogique restera une constante dans tous les ouvrages ramistes"<sup>38</sup>. D'où le souci permanent d'expliquer (commentaires), de clarifier, par des divisions et des subdivisions, de mettre en tableaux et de dichotomiser de plus en plus les traités théoriques. D'où également les reproches vifs adressés à Quintilien pour son manque de rigueur et, partant, de clarté; reproches qui vont jusqu'à mettre en

<sup>32</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et poétique au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle en France* (Leiden 1986), pp. 200-233. "La 'Rhétorique' de 1548 a été entièrement composée sur la base des ouvrages critiques de Ramus" (p. 221).

<sup>33</sup> Voir Roy E. Leake Jr., "The Relationship of two Ramist Rhetorics...", *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance* 30 (1968), 85-108 et Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 234-236 et pp. 262-265.

<sup>34</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 289-316.

<sup>35</sup> Rien n'indique que ce texte ait été publié avant ou après la mort de Ramus (le 26 août 1572).

<sup>36</sup> "Ramus éducateur. Les procédés scolaires et la nature de la réalité", dans *Pédagogues et juristes* (Paris 1963), 208.

<sup>37</sup> Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 192 et n. 5. C'est l'affirmation de Talon lui-même: "[...] teneros adolescentium animos".

<sup>38</sup> C'est la raison que donne Freige, dans son *Paedagogus* (Bâle 1582), pour avoir suivi la rhétorique de Talon: "Nos secuti sumus Talaeum, utpote pueris aptiorem et utiliorem". En fait, dans son épitomé, Freige suit la rhétorique de 1567.

doute les qualités pédagogiques du rhéteur: “Versatus sit in foro tot annos, in ludo juventutem exercuerit: at docendi artem non tenuit: aut certe in his libris non adhibuit”<sup>39</sup>. Que circule donc un épitomé ramiste en 1572, destiné à des élèves<sup>40</sup>, serait dans l’ordre des choses, même si l’on ne peut prétendre que ces élèves fussent ceux du collège de Presles, où enseignait Ramus. Car l’épitomé a l’avantage de mettre en évidence la nervure fondamentale d’un traité, d’illustrer en somme les lignes de force. Ce sont ces lignes de force que nous suivons dans les *Rhetoricae praeceptiones* en les situant, non seulement dans le système ramiste de 1567, mais aussi dans l’évolution de celui-ci.

### Rhétorique: définition.

Les *Rhetoricae praeceptiones* s’ouvrent par une définition de la rhétorique comme *ars bene dicendi* qui est identique à celle de la dernière version de la *Rhetorica* (1567). Les rhétoriques latines antérieures (1548 et 1557<sup>41</sup>) définissaient la rhétorique comme *doctrina bene dicendi*. Les deux mots semblent toutefois synonymes pour les Ramistes. Ainsi, Fouquelin, dans sa *Rhetorique*, traduisait *doctrina* par *art*. “Rhétorique, est un art de bien et elegamment parler”<sup>42</sup>. En 1546, la dialectique est définie de la façon suivante: “Ars igitur dialectica, est doctrina disserendi”<sup>43</sup>.

Cette définition de la rhétorique est donnée comme le modèle de la *definitio perfecta* dans la dernière version de la dialectique de Ramus: “Itaque perfecta definitio, nihil aliud est, quam universale symbolum caussarum, essentiam rei et naturam constituentium. Tales definitiones sunt artium, Grammatica est ars bene loquendi: Rhetorica bene dicendi: Dialectica bene disserendi”<sup>44</sup>.

<sup>39</sup> *Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum* (1549), transl. by Carole Newlands, Intr. by James J. Murphy (Illinois 1986), p. 218. Aussi, *ibid.*, p. 215: “Artes constare debent utilium et constantium institutionum traditione, non omnes hominum errores et vitia colligere”.

<sup>40</sup> Dans la postface qui clôt ce petit recueil, on lit: “Quod si Rhetoricam et Dialecticam ex hoc exemplo cognitae exercere velit adolescens...” (f. 18 v°).

<sup>41</sup> Nous citons la *Rhetorica* de 1548 d’après le texte de la *Rhetorica* de 1549 parue à Paris chez David. Voir Roy E. Leake Jr.: “We have shown likewise that there were slight changes in the 1548 text when the 1549 edition appeared, but that these bore only upon matters of detail, so that one can say that essentially there was only one redaction of the *Rhetorica* between 1548 and 1555” (*op. cit.*, p. 105). L’édition de la *Rhetorica* de 1557 sera citée d’après le texte de la *Rhetorica* publiée à Paris par Wechel en 1562.

<sup>42</sup> *La Rhétorique françoise* (Paris, André Wechel, 1555), p. 1.

<sup>43</sup> *Dialectici Commentarii tres auctore Audomaro Talaio* (Paris 1546), p. 3.

<sup>44</sup> *Dialectica A. Talaiei praelectionibus illustrata* (1569), pp. 232-233.

Il est remarquable de constater l'absence totale de référence à l'étymologie. Bien sûr, un compendium, de par sa brièveté même, ne laisse pas beaucoup de place pour les considérations étymologiques, mais il faut savoir que la référence à l'étymologie est également gommée dans la dernière version de la *Rhetorica*, celle de 1567, contrairement aux versions des rhétoriques latines antérieures. Ainsi, dans la première version de la *Rhetorica* (1548), l'on pouvait lire: "Rhetorica, est doctrina bene dicendi, ut constat ex origine nominis: [...] ῥέω enim vetus verbum, est dico et eloquor, unde ῥήτωρ et ῥητορικὴ deducitur".<sup>45</sup> Ce qui répondait alors aux exigences qu'avait formulées Ramus dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* <sup>46</sup>.

### Les parties de la rhétorique.

Tous les rhéteurs, depuis l'Antiquité, attribuaient à la rhétorique les cinq parties suivantes: *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *actio* et *memoria*. Il s'agit de parcourir, même distraitemment, les rhétoriques du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle pour se rendre compte que la tradition se perpétue presque unanimement. Les Ramistes, par contre, relèguent *inventio*, *dispositio* et *memoria* dans la dialectique pour ne garder dans la rhétorique que les parties suivantes: *elocutio* et *pronuntiatio*. Lorsque l'on écrit, dans le compendium, que ces deux dernières "proprie Rhetoricae sunt", c'est donc signer son appartenance et répéter un lieu commun ramiste que l'on retrouve aussi bien dans les rhétoriques latines et française que dans les ouvrages de critique et de réflexion de Ramus, de Talon et de Fouquelin. Ainsi, dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557<sup>47</sup>, Talon écrit:

Partes ejus [Rhetoricae] duae sunt, Elocutio, et Pronuntiatio: hae siquidem solae sunt, et propriae artis hujus partes: Reliquae artes quae huic ascribuntur, Inventio, Dispositio, et Memoria, alienae partes sunt, et supposititiae. Nam si Grammaticam, Rhetoricam, Dialecticam generales et communes disciplinas, ita, ut ad facile docendum, et perspicue decet, distinxeris, ut non commisceantur alienis inter se praeceptis, sed suis et propriis finibus contineantur...

Tout cela au nom de "la loi d'homogénéité, *lex justitiae*, καθ' αὐτὸν,

<sup>45</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 5. *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 7.

<sup>46</sup> [...] ubi quod etymon sit Rhetoricae Quintilianus videtur explicare velle, non satis explicat tamen: non enim Rhetorices etymologiam omnino ostendit: qui dicit Latine Rhetoricam vel oratoriam vel oratricem transferri, sed qui exponit quae sit origo verbi, et unde deducta significatio" (*Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 181).

<sup>47</sup> *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 7-8.



[selon laquelle] une science [doit] être aussi homogène que le sont les divers membres d'un même corps"<sup>48</sup>. Loi ainsi énoncée par Ramus: "Materia artis tribus notis ab Aristotele notata est: [...] Secunda est καθ' αὐτὸ, per se, ut omnia quae arte comprehenduntur, sint homogenea et tanquam corporis unius membra. [...] Haec lex est justitiae suum cuique tribuens"<sup>49</sup>. En somme, aux deux dons que l'homme a reçus de la nature *Ratio* et *Oratio* correspondent des *doctrinae* <sup>50</sup>; à la *Ratio*, c'est la *dialectica*, à l'*Oratio*, la *Grammatica* et la *Rhetorica* <sup>51</sup>. Et "si dans la pratique les disciplines sont très souvent mêlées, il faut néanmoins les séparer dans la théorie."<sup>52</sup> C'est l'opinion commune des Ramistes, dès les débuts de leur réflexion. Ainsi dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, Ramus déclare: "...usus earum conjungetur, ut eadem sit oratio, quae et pure et ornate et sapienter loquatur et dicat, et sentiat: praecepta tamen pure loquendi, et ornate dicendi, et sapienter sentiendi distinguuntur, neque confundentur"<sup>53</sup>. Affirmation reprise quelques pages plus loin: "Artium materias distinguendas et separandas esse judico"<sup>54</sup>. Et comme la dialectique "mentis et rationis tota est", l'invention, la disposition et la mémoire, "quae mentis omnino sunt", lui sont des attributs propres. La rhétorique, par contre, dont les principes portent, avec la grammaire, sur le *sermo* et l'*oratio*, et plus précisément, dans le cas de la rhétorique, sur l'*ornate dicere*, ne devra étudier que l'*elocutio* et l'*actio*. Les arts voisins, dialectique et gram-

<sup>48</sup> Nelly Bruyère, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

<sup>49</sup> Petrus Ramus, *Scholae dialecticae* (1569), col. 31, 18-19, 23-26 et 30-31 dans *Scholae in liberales artes* (Hildesheim/New York 1970). Voir aussi Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-183.

<sup>50</sup> Nelly Bruyère traduit ce mots par "sciences"; pour ce passage, voir l'ouvrage déjà cité de cette auteure, pp. 317-318.

<sup>51</sup> Cf. *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 169: "Duae sunt universae et generales homini dotes a natura tributae, Ratio et Oratio: illius doctrina dialectica est, hujus grammatica, et rhetorica. Dialectica igitur generales humanae rationis vires in cogitandis et disponendis rebus persequatur, grammatica orationis puritatem in etymologia, syntaxi, et prosodia ad recte loquendum, in orthographia etiam ad recte scribendum interpretetur. Rhetorica orationis ornatum tum in topicis et figuris, tum in actionis dignitate demonstrat."

<sup>52</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>53</sup> *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 170.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 184. Cette affirmation est constamment maintenue dans les *Scholae rhetoricae*. Voir l'édition de 1569, col.339, 48-50, dans *Scholae in liberales artes* (Hildesheim/New York 1970).

maire, lui fourniront *dans la pratique* les outils pour réaliser le *sapienter sentire* et le *pure loqui* <sup>55</sup>. À chacun son bien, pour ainsi dire.

D'où la logique, qui peut sembler désinvolte <sup>56</sup> et qui l'est sans doute, des syllogismes qui suivent et résument, pour ainsi dire, l'argumentation de ce passage <sup>57</sup>:

Tot partes in unaquaque arte sunt instituendae non plures, quot sunt in propria ejus et naturali materia:

In materia artis dialecticae, id est naturali rationis usu, vis est inveniendi, disponendi, et recordandi:

Tot igitur partes sunt in ea explicandae.

Item,

In materia rhetoricae subjecta vis eloquendi et pronuntiandi sola continetur:

Tot igitur partes in ea sunt explicandae.

Item,

Partes alterius artis non sunt in arte rhetorica permiscendae:

Inventio, dispositio, memoria alterius disciplinae partes sunt, nempe dialecticae:

Non sunt igitur in rhetorica permiscendae.

Donc à la Rhétorique appartiennent en propre l'Élocution et la Prononciation "cum sint naturali usui sermonis, seu orationis ac linguae accommodatae", comme l'écrit l'auteur du compendium <sup>58</sup>.

### ***Elocutio* et tropes.**

La définition de l' *elocutio* comme *orationis exornatio* est constante depuis la première rhétorique et elle le demeurera jusqu'à l'édition de 1572. Rien d'étonnant donc de la retrouver telle quelle dans notre compendium, ainsi que sa division en Tropes et Figures <sup>59</sup>, qui elle aussi

<sup>55</sup> "Rhetorica igitur hoc sibi proprium solum retinebit, ut res a Dialectica repertas et collocatas, a Grammatica autem puro et proprio sermone expositas, elocutionis ornamentis magnificentius expoliat, et pronuntiationis et actionis gratia commendat" (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 6). La deuxième version de la *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 8-9 reprendra intégralement ce texte. Voir aussi Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

<sup>56</sup> Voir Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 207, n. 19.

<sup>57</sup> *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 184 pour toute cette démonstration. La pensée des Ramistes sera constante sur cette question. Voir les *Scholae rhetoricae* (1569), col. 340.

<sup>58</sup> F. 2 r°.

<sup>59</sup> "Elocutio, est orationis exornatio: estque Tropus, aut Figura" (f. 2 r°). La *Rhetorique françoise* (1555) dira: "Elocution n'est autre chose, que l'ornement et enrichis-

est constante chez les Ramistes et justifiée, Cicéron à l'appui, dans la *Rhetorica* de 1562<sup>60</sup>: “Hanc veram et legitimam partitionem Cicero aliquando sequitur, tametsi secus plerumque praecipit. Ornari orationem (inquit) Graeci putant, si verborum immutationibus utantur (quos appellant τρόπους) et sententiarum orationisque formis, quae vocant σχήματα”. Cette citation de Cicéron<sup>61</sup> avait également le mérite, pour Ramus, d'appuyer sa distinction fondamentale entre tropes et figures: “[...] le trope fonctionne *uniquement in verbis singulis*, la figure *in verbis conjunctis* (ou: *in oratione*)”<sup>62</sup>. Et c'est au nom de ces principes qu'il critiquera vivement la définition que Quintilien donne du trope au livre VIII de son *Institution oratoire*<sup>63</sup>. Dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, il écrit en effet: “Tropus (ait [Quintilien]) est mutatio verbi vel sermonis a propria significatione in aliam cum virtute. At tropus in singulis verbis totus est, in sermone conjunctum nihil habet. Nam cum formae orationis mutantur, figurae sunt, non tropi: et quas sermonis mutationes Quintilianus putat tropos esse, docebo suo loco tropos non esse. Quare falsa est primum ista definitio”<sup>64</sup>. Par contre, au nom des mêmes principes, et toujours dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, il approuvera Quintilien dans la distinction qu'il fait au début du livre IX entre figures et tropes, même s'il lui reprochera de manquer de constance (ou de logique) dans sa démonstration<sup>65</sup>. “Tropus est dictio ab eo loco in quo propria est, translata in eum in quo propria non est (ait); figura est conformatio quaedam orationis remota a communi, et primum se offerente ratione”<sup>66</sup>. Haec tropi et figurae differentia est a Quintiliano posita: vera, certa, necessaria, fateor”<sup>67</sup>. Quelques lignes plus loin, il résumera la pensée de Quintilien par ce syllogisme:

Tropus est mutatio dictionis:

Figura non est mutatio dictionis, quia est orationis mutatio:

Figura igitur non est tropus.

sement de la parole et oraison: laquelle a deux espèces, l'une est appelée Trope, l'autre Figure” (p. 1).

<sup>60</sup> Éd. citée, p. 9.

<sup>61</sup> *Brutus*, 69.

<sup>62</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 224.

<sup>63</sup> VIII, 6, 1.

<sup>64</sup> Éd. citée, p. 208. Les *Scholae rhetoricae* (1569), col. 368, 45-53, donnent le même texte, à une variante près.

<sup>65</sup> “Verum Quintilianus in hac tam vera sententia constanter permanere non poterit”, éd. citée, pp. 213-214.

<sup>66</sup> Quintilien, IX, 1, 4.

<sup>67</sup> Éd. citée, p. 213. Voir Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

avant d'ajouter: "Verius, inquam, hoc syllogismo et constantius nihil esse poterat"<sup>68</sup>.

Rien d'étonnant alors que la définition du trope, depuis les premières rhétoriques jusqu'au compendium, s'appuiera sur deux éléments essentiels: *verbum* et *mutatio*. "Tropus, est elocutio qua verbum a nativa significatione in aliam immutatur"<sup>69</sup>. Ce texte du compendium est rigoureusement celui des rhétoriques des années 1567 et suivantes et se situe dans la droite ligne des définitions antérieures. Bien sûr Talon, dans sa première *Rhetorica*<sup>70</sup>, a semblé hésiter: il omet *verbum* dans la définition du trope et écrit, dans les pages consacrées à la métaphore, ceci: "Videtur interdum Metaphora non esse in uno verbo, sed in oratione"<sup>71</sup>. Par contre cette hésitation ne l'empêchera pas d'utiliser, dans le même texte, les mots *vocabulum* et *verba* au sujet de la métaphore<sup>72</sup> et le mot *vocabulum* au sujet des tropes<sup>73</sup>. De plus, dès la *Rhetorique* de 1555, Fouquelin levait l'ambiguïté: "Trope, est une elocution, par laquelle la propre et naturelle signification du mot est changée en une autre: ce que declare ce mot (Trope) qui signifie en françois mutation"<sup>74</sup>. Comment pouvait-il en être autrement quand, dès les *Brutinae quaestiones*, Ramus proclamait que: "Tropus definendus erat elocutio in singulis verbis, qua significatio a proprio loco in alium mutatur..."<sup>75</sup>?

Ce sont ces deux critères (*verbum* et *mutatio*) qui seront utilisés dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*<sup>76</sup> pour l'étude des douze tropes que retient Quintilien<sup>77</sup>: métaphore, synecdoque, métonymie, antonomase, onomatopée, catachrèse, métalepse, épithète (ἐπίθετον), allégorie, périphrase, hyperbate, hyperbole. Et c'est donc au nom de ces principes que Ramus refusera le statut de tropes à plusieurs d'entre eux après un examen attentif, pour chacun des tropes, de la démarche de Quintilien.

<sup>68</sup> Éd. citée, p. 214.

<sup>69</sup> F. 2 r°.

<sup>70</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 6; sur ce sujet, voir Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 224 et les notes 10 et 11.

<sup>71</sup> Éd. citée, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> "Quodcunque igitur vocabulum ex simili simile significabit, [...] Metaphora dicatur: in quo quidem genere verba deligenda sunt ad ornatum orationis..." *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 15.

<sup>73</sup> "[...] quicquid enim vocabulum immutatum a propria significatione significare potest..." p. 19.

<sup>74</sup> *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), pp. 1-2.

<sup>75</sup> Édition de 1549, p. 95.

<sup>76</sup> Éd. citée, pp. 208-215.

<sup>77</sup> VIII, 6.

Tropus omnis est mutatio significationis:

Antonomasia, onomatopoeia, metalepsis, epitheton, tot allegoriae praeter ironiam, species, periphrasis, hyperbaton, hyperbole extra singula verba, significationis mutatio nulla est:

Quare tropus non est<sup>78</sup>.

À première vue cette démarche peut sembler cavalière. Toutefois, ce syllogisme ne vient qu'après l'étude systématique de chacun de ces tropes et n'est en somme qu'une façon de ramasser sa pensée à la fin d'une démonstration. Revoyons donc ces tropes.

L'antonomase, que décrit Quintilien, est rejetée parce que, une fois faite l'étude de la définition et des exemples, Ramus affirme qu'elle est soit une synecdoque, soit une explication; dans le premier cas, elle ne se distingue pas des autres tropes, dans l'autre, elle n'est pas un trope<sup>79</sup>. L'onomatopée ne peut être un trope puisqu'il n'y a pas *mutatio*<sup>80</sup>. Il en est de même pour la métalepse, dont la "definitio omnis argumenti communis est"<sup>81</sup>. L'épithète (ἐπίθετον) ne peut être retenue parce que, ou bien elle est employée au sens propre et alors il n'y a pas *mutatio*, ou bien il y a *mutatio* et alors elle est une métaphore<sup>82</sup>. Que l'on nous permette de citer le syllogisme que construit Ramus, quelques pages plus loin; il est significatif et de l'argumentation de celui-ci et de son indignation ... parfois oratoire:

Utere tuo adversus te iudicio, utere tuo syllogismo.

Tropus est dictio mutata a significatione:

Epitheton saepe proprium est, nec mutatam habet significationem:

Epitheton igitur tropus non est.<sup>83</sup>

<sup>78</sup> *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 212.

<sup>79</sup> "Antonomasia enim (quam fingit) aut synecdoche est [...] aut argumentum quoddam. [...] Itaque tollatur e tropis hoc genus, quod a ceteris nihil habet diversum, aut tropus omnino non est". Éd. citée, pp. 209-210. Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 19; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 44.

<sup>80</sup> "At mutatio significationis hic nulla est: nihil enim aliud significarunt unquam haec nomina, et haec prima est eorum significatio: non est igitur illic tropus", éd. citée, p. 210.

<sup>81</sup> Éd. citée, p. 210. Ramus conclut donc: "Tollatur igitur, [...] quia nulla significationis mutatio est".

<sup>82</sup> "Quid enim est tam frequens in epithetis, quam propria significatio? [...] Aliquando autem mutatur significatio, et metaphora est...", éd. citée, pp. 210-211.

<sup>83</sup> Éd. citée, p. 215.

Un syllogisme semblable quelques lignes plus haut affirme que la périphrase n'est pas un trope<sup>84</sup>; Ramus aurait pu le construire d'une façon identique, puisque "periphrasis omnibus propriis verbis effici potest: nec idcirco tropus ullus est omnino, sed argumenti genus ex dialectico definitionis loco"<sup>85</sup>. L'hyperbate est éliminée, faute de *mutatio*.<sup>86</sup> L'hyperbole ou bien "in verbo est" et alors elle est un trope (que nous étudierons en détail plus loin); ou bien "in verbo non est... et ideo tropus non est". De même pour l'allégorie, il faut bien distinguer ce qui, dans l'argumentation de Quintilien, concerne les tropes (l'allégorie comme "suite continue de métaphores"<sup>87</sup> et l'ironie) des autres espèces qu'il croit voir dans ce trope, "σαρκασμός, ἄστεισμός, ἀντίφρασις, παροιμία, μυκτηρισμός", car dans celles-ci, il n'y a aucune *mutatio*<sup>88</sup>. C'est ce que disait Ramus dans le syllogisme cité plus haut<sup>89</sup>, "tot allegoriae praeter ironiam, species [...] significationis mutatio nulla est". Syllogisme que l'on comprend mieux maintenant que l'on a suivi le raisonnement de Ramus.

Restent donc, parmi les douze tropes que retenait Quintilien, la métaphore, la synecdoque, la métonymie, l'allégorie en tant que lieu de *mutatio* (métaphore et ironie), l'hyperbole (*in uno verbo*) et la catachrèse. Nous continuerons cet examen par les trois dernières.

Ramus reconnaît d'emblée qu'allégorie, hyperbole et catachrèse soient des tropes. Ce qu'il récuse, c'est que l'on veuille en faire un type particulier de tropes. Ainsi, pour la catachrèse, il affirmera dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*: "At dicatur si placet haec durior metaphora, Catachresis, non recuso: sed intelligatur a metaphora genere ipso nihil differre"<sup>90</sup>. Une mise en garde semblable sera émise au sujet de l'allégorie, toujours dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*: "Si tamen lubet

<sup>84</sup> "Omnis tropus est dictio a significatione mutata:

Periphrasis non est dictio a significatione mutata:

Non est igitur tropus" (éd. citée, p. 215).

<sup>85</sup> Éd. citée, p. 212.

<sup>86</sup> "[...] hyperbaton [...] in quo cum significationis nulla mutatio sit, nullus etiam tropus erit", éd. citée, p. 212.

<sup>87</sup> VIII, 6, 44-47. Nous donnons la traduction de Jean Cousin dans Quintilien, *Institution oratoire*, texte établi et traduit par Jean Cousin (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1975-1980), VIII, 6, 44.

<sup>88</sup> "Subjicit errore multo majore, σαρκασμόν, ἄστεισμόν, ἀντίφρασιν, παροιμίαν, μυκτηρισμόν. Neque enim tropi hic quidquam est, cum verbis propriis haec omnia decidi possint", éd. citée, p. 212.

<sup>89</sup> Voir plus haut n. 78.

<sup>90</sup> Éd. citée, p. 210.

allegoriam dicere, continuatis in oratione metaphoris, non recuso: sed ne imperite in arte describenda pro genere ponatur quod genus non sit”<sup>91</sup>. Quant à l’hyperbole, on trouve, dans la *Rhetorica* de 1562, cette phrase qui n’est surprenante qu’à première vue: “[...] et appelletur (si placet) in quocumque genere tropi fuerit metonymia, ironia, synecdoche, metaphora ὑπερβολική, sicut καταχρηστική”<sup>92</sup>.

Cette citation nous plonge au cœur même du problème: si la catachrèse, l’hyperbole et l’allégorie sont des tropes, mais non des genres particuliers de tropes, quels liens est-on en droit d’établir entre ceux-là et les vrais tropes: métaphore, synecdoque, métonymie et ironie? Dans les rhétoriques antérieures à 1567, aussi bien latines que française, ces tropes sont étudiés avec la métaphore. Est-ce à dire que les Ramistes les considèrent alors nécessairement comme des variantes de la métaphore? Le problème est un peu plus complexe et mérite d’être étudié systématiquement.

Dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, Ramus démontre que les exemples de catachrèse avancés par Quintilien<sup>93</sup> ne sont que métaphores et synecdoques<sup>94</sup>, avant de conclure: “Tollatur igitur genus hoc, aut metaphorae et synecdochae, aut omnino alicui tropo subjiatur”<sup>95</sup>. La *Rhetorica* de 1549 disait sensiblement la même chose<sup>96</sup> tandis que la *Rhetorique* de 1555 et la *Rhetorica* de 1562 donnaient la condition pour qu’un trope puisse porter le nom de catachrèse: “Ce sont metaphores [...] un peu dures, lesquelles les Grecz et Latins ont apellees Catachristiques, c’est à dire abusives, de nom assés propre et convenant, non toutefois que par iceluy elles puissent estre separees de la metaphore, veu que en ces motz, [...] il y a quelque similitude, et aussi, que tout trope un peu plus hardiment pris, peut estre appelé Catachristique et abusif”<sup>97</sup>. On le voit donc, la catachrèse débordé la cadre de la métaphore et peut s’appliquer à tout trope “pris hardiment” pour reprendre à Fouquelin ses propres termes qui ne sont que ceux de Talon et de Ramus comme on le sait.

<sup>91</sup> Éd. citée, p. 211.

<sup>92</sup> P. 35.

<sup>93</sup> Quintilien, VIII, 6, 34-36.

<sup>94</sup> “Leo pariet, metaphora est satis dura [...] dicatur etiam si lubet haec synecdoche καταχρηστική”, éd. citée, p. 210.

<sup>95</sup> Éd. citée, p. 210.

<sup>96</sup> “[...] omnis tropus catachresis dici possit”, éd. citée, p. 13.

<sup>97</sup> *Rhetorique françoise*, (1555), pp. 19-20. *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 30: “[...] et omnis paulo audacior et liberior tropus catachresis dici possit”.

L'hyperbole, selon les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, pourra prendre la voie de la métaphore et de la métonymie<sup>98</sup> tandis que la *Rhetorica* de 1549 et la *Rhetorique* de 1555 n'en font qu'une variante de la métaphore.

Semblablement les anciens ont noté une hyperbole, c'est à dire un excès et superlatio de signification [...]. Le quel excès de signification comme asses commodement les anciens l'ont appelé hyperbole, ainsi un peu trop lourdement l'ont il separé de la metaphore, comme trope divers et different [...] car quelquefois l'Hyperbole est affectee en l'oraison pour amplifier [...]. Quelquefois aussi l'Hyperbole est affectee pour extenuer [...] ce neantmoins en tous les deux exemples, Hyperbole n'est autre chose, que metaphore, la quelle appellera qui voudra metaphore hiperbolique, ou excessive et superlative, comme les metaphores un peu dures et trop hardies, peuvent estre appellees Catachrestiques et abusives.<sup>99</sup>

La *Rhetorica* de 1562 reprend essentiellement le même texte, mais y ajoute ceci<sup>100</sup>: “[...] et appellation (si placet) in quocumque genere tropi fuerit metonymia, ironia, synecdoche, metaphora ὑπερβολική, sicut καταχρηστική”. Les *Scholae rhetoricae* complèteront les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* en ajoutant l'ironie, à la métaphore et à la métonymie, comme trope hyperbolique: “Potest etiam ironia hyperbolica esse.”<sup>101</sup>

Quant à l'allégorie, Ramus, dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, sentira le besoin de corriger bien des erreurs de Quintilien. D'abord il évacuera de son champ l'ironie, dont il fera un genre à part au même titre que la métaphore, la métonymie et la synecdoque. Nous aurons l'occasion d'y revenir. Nous avons vu aussi qu'il a éliminé de la catégorie des tropes les “σαρκασμός” et autres dont Quintilien faisait des subdivisions de l'allégorie. Enfin il a étudié les rapports entre allégorie et métaphore, dans le cas des métaphores en chaîne pour affirmer: “Allegoria autem si fiat ex continuis metaphoris, non est novum tropi genus, non magis quam si frequens metonymia aut synecdoche continuaretur. Neque enim hic diversa troporum genera dicerentur, sed multae metonymiae, multae synecdochae: ita illic multae metaphorae sunt...”<sup>102</sup>. La *Rhetorica* de 1549 et la *Rhetorique* de 1555, dans des textes, dont celui-ci est pratiquement la traduction de celui-là, lieront également métaphore et

<sup>98</sup> “[...] quae si in verbo est, metaphora quidem est significans ex simili simile: saepe etiam metonymia...”, éd. citée, p. 212.

<sup>99</sup> PP. 23-25. Ce texte n'est que la traduction du texte de la *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 15.

<sup>100</sup> Éd. citée, p. 35.

<sup>101</sup> 1569, col. 374, 30-31.

<sup>102</sup> Éd. citée, p. 211.



allégorie, faisant de celle-ci “une espece de metaphore”<sup>103</sup>. La *Rhetorica* de 1562 apportera aux textes de 1549 et de 1555 un ajout que l’on peut qualifier de fondamental et qu’il faut citer.

Singula pene verba modificata sunt, et per similitudinem translata, sed haec verborum modifierum continuatio novam tropi speciem non efficit. Potest vero etiam allegoria e caeteris tropis continuatis fieri, ut ex metonymiis illis in I. de Oratore. Quod quidem si erit a nobis [...] et sic e reliquis tropis continuatis necti potest allegoria.<sup>104</sup>

Dans les rhétoriques du dernier groupe (années 1567 et suivantes), et dans notre compendium de 1572, l’étude de ces trois tropes, fait significatif, sera placée avant l’analyse des quatre tropes et ils seront considérés comme des variantes de ceux-ci. C’est ainsi qu’on peut lire dans le compendium.

Tropus [...]: qui si durior vel inaequalior fuerit Catachrisis seu Abusio dicitur, quae praeposito verbo molliri potest: si vero audax Hyperbole seu Superlatio appellatur. Sed Troporum continuatio et conjunctio, quae Allegoria seu Inversio nominatur, magnum ornatum adfert orationi, si quo ex genere rerum coeperis, eodem desinas: secus inconsequentia foedissima fuerit.<sup>105</sup>

De même, dans l’étude de chacun des quatre tropes, Ramus passera de la théorie à la pratique en désignant du terme d’allégorie tel ou tel exemple de métonymie (“Allegoria hic est”<sup>106</sup>; “[...] et continuatio quatuor metonymiarum, allegoriam facit”<sup>107</sup>); tel exemple d’ironie (“Sed εἰρωνεία continuata, facit allegoriam gratiorem...”<sup>108</sup>); tel ou tel

<sup>103</sup> Voici le contexte de cet extrait: “La Metaphore est aucunesfois multipliee et continuee [...] Lesquelles metaphores les anciens Rheteurs Grecz et Latins apellent Allegories, de nom (come j’ay dit de Catachrise) non impropre, mais improprement separé et distrait de la metaphore: car l’ornement n’est point changé, ains seulement multiplié: (comme j’ay dit un peu devant de l’Ironie continuee). [...] Allegorie donques constituee de plusieurs motz transferés, est une espece de metaphore, et non un Trope distinct et separé d’icelle”, éd. citée, pp. 21-22.

<sup>104</sup> Éd. citée, pp. 32-33.

<sup>105</sup> F. 2 r° et 2v°. Ce texte est pratiquement identique au texte des éditions de la *Rhetorica* de 1567, de 1569 et de 1572, sauf de légères variantes en ce qui concerne l’allégorie: “Sed cum troporum singulorum ornatus magnus est, tum continuatorum et conjunctorum multo maximus: quae continuatio (si lubet) ἀλληγορί//a inversio nominetur. Sed in allegoria tenendum est illud, ut quo ex genere rerum coeperis, eodem desinas: secus inconsequentia foedissima fuerit, ait Quintilianus”, *Rhetorica* (1567), pp. 4-5. La référence à Quintilien est tiré de VIII, 6, 50.

<sup>106</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 7.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.

exemple de synecdoque (“Allegoria hic est frequentior”<sup>109</sup>; “Allegoria hic etiam frequens est”<sup>110</sup>); tel ou tel exemple de métaphore (“Allegoriae multo sunt hic illustrissimae”<sup>111</sup>; “Hyperbole vero et Allegoria in metaphoris praecipuam laudem obtinent: et hic vulgo etiam praecipue collocantur”<sup>112</sup>). De même, hyperbole et métonymie seront rapprochées (“Ex hoc genere metonymiae, sunt illa Ciceronis hyperbolica”<sup>113</sup>). Quant à la catachrèse, l'exemple le plus souvent cité de “parricida pro interfectore”, repris d'ailleurs dans le compendium même, comme exemple de synecdoque<sup>114</sup>, permet d'associer ces deux tropes depuis les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*<sup>115</sup>.

On le voit donc. En 1567, la théorie est claire: la catachrèse, l'allégorie et l'hyperbole sont des tropes, mais au lieu de constituer des genres particuliers, ils ne sont que des variantes des quatre tropes. On peut bien les désigner par le nom que la tradition leur a donné (la pratique de Ramus semble même démontrer que cela peut être commode), mais ils ne seront toujours que des métaphores, des synecdoques, des métonymies et des ironies. Voilà les quatre tropes, les seuls. “Tropus, est Metonymia, Ironia, Metaphora, aut Synecdoche”, affirme l'auteur du compendium<sup>116</sup>, ne faisant que répéter ce que disent les Ramistes depuis la *Rhetorica* de 1548, les *Brutinae Quaestiones* et les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* de 1549<sup>117</sup>. De même qu'il ne fera que reproduire et condenser la thèse de Ramus pour expliquer la théorie des tropes. L'on sait que celui-ci, dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* toujours, s'appuyait sur la dialectique, et plus précisément sur la théorie des lieux de l'invention, pour justifier le nombre de tropes retenus et leur division<sup>118</sup>. Le compendium reprendra des éléments de cette démonstration.

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 26.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>114</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>115</sup> Éd. citée, p. 210. Voici l'explication de la *Rhetorica* de 1562: “[...] ut, parricida pro interfectore catachresis est, et synecdoche, quia species pro genere ponitur”, p. 30.

<sup>116</sup> F. 2v°.

<sup>117</sup> “En 1547 [dans la 1ère édition des *Brutinae Quaestiones*] Ramus ne tient pas encore à fixer le nombre exact des tropes, ni à délimiter leur domaine (*in verbis singulis / in verbis conjunctis*)” (Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 207).

<sup>118</sup> “Atque etiam ut intelligi certius possit, quatuor esse tantum troporum genera [...], causam planius et apertius ex locis dialecticae inventionis explicabo”, *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), pp. 212-213.

Omnis enim propriae significationis in verbo mutatio est horum tantum quatuor generum: Metonymiae quidem ex causis ad effecta, et subjectis ad adjuncta: Ironiae ex dissentaneis ad dissentanea: Metaphorae ex similibus ad similia: Synecdoches ex toto ad partes, et contra.<sup>119</sup>

Comparons ce texte au long texte des *Rhetoricae distinctiones*.

Omnis mutatio propriae significationis ex causis ad effecta, subjectis ad adjuncta, dissentaneis ad dissentanea, comparatis ad comparata, toto ad partem, contrave, est metonymia, ironia, metaphora, synecdoche.

Metonymia enim est mutatio significationis ex causis ad effecta, ex subjectis ad adjuncta, contrave: Ironia ex dissentaneis ad dissentanea: metaphora ex comparatis ad comparata: synecdoche ex toto ad partem, contrave.

Omnis autem tropus est mutatio propriae significationis in verbo ex causis ad effecta, subjectis ad adjuncta, dissentaneis ad dissentanea, comparatis ad comparata, toto ad partem, contrave.

Nam reliqua rerum (quae videntur significari posse dictione simplici) genera nihil habent ab illis distinctum. Nam conjugata et notatio circumstantiae sunt nominis, non rei significatae. Definitio et testimonium simplici dictione non significantur.

Omnis itaque tropus est metonymia, ironia, metaphora, synecdoche.<sup>120</sup>

Ce texte mérite quelques explications. Dans une dialectique<sup>121</sup> de la même génération (ce que Nelly Bruyère nomme *État III* pour la dialectique<sup>122</sup>), Ramus divise en deux grands genres les arguments: *insita* et *assumpta*. À l'intérieur du genre *insita*, il distingue neuf espèces: "Causae, effecta, subjecta, adjuncta [habituellement regroupées en *consentanea* ], dissentanea, nomen [subdivisé en *notatio* et *conjugata* ], comparatio, distributio, definitio". Ramus rejette, on vient de le voir, certains de ces lieux qui ne peuvent servir à expliquer les tropes. Ce sont tout d'abord les *conjugata* et la *notatio* parce que, dit-il, "sunt nominis, non rei significatae". La première catégorie tient en effet

<sup>119</sup> F. 2 v°.

<sup>120</sup> Éd. citée, p. 213.

<sup>121</sup> *Dialectici commentarii tres* (Paris 1546), p. 4.

<sup>122</sup> *Méthode et dialectique...*, pp. 12-14 et pp. 92-93.

de la dérivation, la seconde de l'étymologie<sup>123</sup>. Ensuite sont rejetés la *definitio* et le *testimonium*<sup>124</sup> parce que "simplici dictione non significantur". Restent donc les lieux suivants: *consentanea* ( *caussae, effecta, subjecta, adjuncta* ); *dissentanea* ; *comparatio* et la *distributio* qui servent à expliquer et à justifier respectivement les quatre tropes, métonymie, ironie, métaphore et synecdoque.

Dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, à propos de la métonymie, Ramus affirme qu'afin de dissiper la confusion théorique de Quintilien, il regroupera en quatre lieux les exemples du rhéteur latin (*Ex causis effecta, ex effectis causae, ex subjectis adjuncta, ex adjunctis subjecta*), avant de conclure que cette confusion sera dissipée également par une véritable définition de la métonymie qui "est tropus ex causis effecta, subjectis adjuncta contrave significans"<sup>125</sup>. Cette définition persistera dans les rhétoriques postérieures, latines (1548, 1557) ou française (1555)<sup>126</sup> jusqu'en 1567. Est alors introduit dans la définition le mot *consentaneus* ("Metonymia, est tropus consentanei ad consentaneum"<sup>127</sup>) qu'adopteront nos *Rhetoricae praeceptiones*<sup>128</sup>. L'utilisation de ce mot, qui regroupe dans les dialectiques les quatre lieux qui serviront à comprendre la métonymie, renforce encore davantage le lien (qui était déjà clair, même évident, dès les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*) que Ramus veut maintenir avec la dialectique. Une comparaison systématique entre le texte de l'édition de 1567 (colonne de gauche), texte exemplaire de par sa rigueur, et la *Dialectica* de 1569 (colonne de droite) clarifiera encore davantage la théorie de Ramus.

<p>Metonymia, est tropus consentanei ad consentaneum, estque duorum item generum. Metonymia primi generis, est caussae ad effectum, vel contra. Prima itaque</p>	<p>Consentaneum est, quod consentit cum re quam arguit: estque consentaneum absolute [...]: absolute, ut caussa et effectum. (p. 22)</p> <p>Caussa, est efficiens et materia</p>
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<sup>123</sup> "Conjugata dicuntur vocabula, quae ab uno orta principio varie commutantur", *Dialectici commentarii tres*, p. 31. L'épitomé, dans les *Dialecticae praeceptiones*, donne comme exemple: "sapiens, sapienter, sapientia" (F. 9 v°); "Notatio, est nominis interpretatio, quae a Graecis σύν/μβολον et ἐτυμολογία nominatur", *Dialectici commentarii tres*, p. 30.

<sup>124</sup> Ce sont les *Assumpta argumenta*. Voir les *Dialecticae praeceptiones*, f. 11 r°: "[...] assumptum seu inartificiale est testimonium ...".

<sup>125</sup> Éd. citée, p. 209.

<sup>126</sup> *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 10 et *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 2.

<sup>127</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 5.

<sup>128</sup> F. 2v°.

<p>primi generis metonymia est, cum ex causa significatur effectus: ut ex materia et efficiente. Ex materia [...] (p. 5) Ex efficiente, ut cum inventor et author pro ipsis effectis rebus usurpantur. (p. 6)</p> <p>Metonymia secunda generis primi est, cum ex effectis causae significantur. (p. 7)</p> <p>Secundum Metonymiae genus est, quando e subjectis adjuncta, et contra significantur. Prima itaque species secundi generis est, cum nomen proprium rei subjectae ad significandam rem adjunctam traducitur. (p. 8-9)</p> <p>Metonymia secunda generis secundi est, cum ex adjunctis res subjectae significantur. Sic nomina virtutum ipsarum pro bonis viris.... (p. 12)</p>	<p>(p. 34) [...] Efficiens, est causa a qua res est (p. 34-35) [...] Materia, est causa ex qua res est. (p. 51)</p> <p>Effectum, est quod e caussis existit. (p. 64)</p> <p>Argumentum modo quodam consentaneum succedit, ut subjectum et adjunctum. Subjectum est, cui aliquid adjungitur. (p. 73)</p> <p>Adjunctum, est cui aliquid subjicitur. (p. 82)</p>
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Ce lien avec la dialectique persistera dans les éditions postérieures, même si la rigueur du texte de 1567 sera quelque peu atténuée. Dans tous les cas, bien évidemment, la division de la métonymie en “quatre manières” (pour employer les termes de Fouquelin) persiste, ainsi que l’ordre de présentation de ces quatre modes. Le compendium ne manque pas à cette règle, mais il donne en plus une définition qui n’apparaît dans aucune autre rhétorique, celle de la “metonymia materiae”<sup>129</sup>, sans compter que, par l’efficacité et la clarté de leur énonciation, certaines définitions sont plus évidentes souvent que celles que l’on retrouve dans les rhétoriques<sup>130</sup>.

La définition que donne de l’ironie le même compendium se situe également dans la tradition ramusienne depuis les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*. L’ironie en effet “est tropus a dissentaneo ad dissentaneum”<sup>131</sup>.

<sup>129</sup> “Materiae, cum ipsa pro suo effecto ponitur”, f. 2 v°.

<sup>130</sup> “Metonymia effecti, est cum pro causa effectum ponitur”; “Subjecti, est cum pro adjuncto subjectum ponitur”; “Adjuncti, est cum pro subjecto adjunctum ponitur”, f., 2 v°.

<sup>131</sup> F. 3 r°.

Texte identique, ou peu s'en faut, à celui que l'on retrouve dans les rhétoriques latines et dans la rhétorique française<sup>132</sup>. Donc l'association ironie et *dissentaneus* est constante depuis les débuts de la réflexion de Ramus et de ses disciples. C'est même l'une des raisons, nous l'avons vu, pour laquelle Ramus en fait un trope particulier, contrairement à Quintilien qui l'intégrait dans l'allégorie<sup>133</sup>. D'où le rappel à l'ordre de Ramus dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*<sup>134</sup>: "Subjicit Quintilianus allegoriae ironiam in quo labitur. Ironia enim ipsa tropi genus est separatum. In omni allegoria significatur ex simili simile: in ironia significatur ex contrario contrarium". Quintilien se trompe donc parce qu'il n'a pas su voir le lien entre l'ironie et le topos de la dialectique, *dissentaneus*. Les *Scholae rhetoricae*<sup>135</sup> vont même préciser davantage: l'ironie est "mutatio propriae significationis ex [...] oppositis ad opposita", l'une des subdivisions de *dissentaneus*. Le texte des éditions de 1567 et de 1569 de la *Rhetorica* resserra ce lien avec la dialectique, comme aucune autre rhétorique antérieure ne l'avait fait, en subdivisant ce trope, selon le modèle de la division de *contraria*, sous-catégorie de *opposita*<sup>136</sup>. Voyons de plus près en comparant les textes.

***Rhetorica* (1567)**

Genera ironiae, affirmatione dissentanei et negatione dividuntur.  
(p. 16)

Ironia affirmati dissentanei est, quando e dissentaneo affirmato significatur dissentaneum affirmatum, ut relatum vel adversum.  
(p. 16)

Ironia e relatis, ut si pater moles-

***Dialectica* (1569)**

Contraria sunt opposita, quorum unum uni tantum opponitur: suntque affirmantia, aut negantia.  
(p. 97)

Affirmantia, quorum utrumque affirmat, ut relata et adversa.  
(p. 97)

Relata sunt contraria affirmantia,

<sup>132</sup> "La seconde espece de Trope est apellée Ironie, quand par le contraire le contraire est entendu" (*Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 10).

<sup>133</sup> "In eo vero genere quo contraria ostenduntur ironia est", éd. citée, VIII, 6, 54.

<sup>134</sup> Éd. citée, p. 212.

<sup>135</sup> 1569, col. 375, 19-22.

<sup>136</sup> Voir le tableau de l'état V dans *Scholae dialecticae* (1569), col. 609-610.

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <p>tiori filio dicat: Scilicet tu meus pater es, ego tuus filius. (p. 16)</p>   | <p>quorum alterum constat e mutua alterius affectione: atque inde nominata sunt relata, ut pater, qui filium habet: et filius, qui patrem habet. (p. 97-98)</p>  |
| <p>Ironia ex adversis frequentior<sup>137</sup>. (p. 17)</p>  | <p>Adversa, sunt contraria affirmantia, quae inter se [...] adversantur. (p. 102)</p>  |
| <p>Ironia negati dissentanei est, quando e dissentaneo negato significatur dissentaneum: ut e privantibus vel contradicentibus. (p. 18)</p> | <p>Contraria, negantia sunt, quorum alterum ait, alterum negat idem: eaque sunt contradicentia, aut privantia (p. 106)</p>   |
| <p>Ironia e privantibus...[suivent des exemples] (p. 18)</p>  | <p>Privantia, sunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat in eo tantum subjecto, in quo affirmatum suapte natura inest. Atque hic affirmatum, dicitur habitus: negatum autem, privatio. (p. 112)</p> |
| <p>Ironia e contradicentibus est frequens, cum quis simulat se nolle dicere, quod dicit. (p. 20)</p>  | <p>Contradicentia sunt contraria negantia, quorum alterum negat ubique...(p. 106)</p>  |

L'édition de 1572 de la *Rhetorica* reviendra à plus de sobriété et sera alors écarté ce rapprochement systématique et très visible entre la rhétorique et la dialectique.

Dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, Ramus utilise deux formules pour définir la métaphore: "[...] metaphora ex comparatis ad comparata"<sup>138</sup> et "metaphora enim tropus est ex simili simile significans"<sup>139</sup>. C'est que le lieu *similis* est une subdivision de l'espèce plus générale, la *comparatio* qui est divisée elle-même in *Quantitate aut Qualitate*, et cette dernière en *similis* et *dissimilis*<sup>140</sup>. *Similis* qui est défini dans les *Dialecticae*

<sup>137</sup> Nous corrigeons sur l'édition de 1569 (Bâle), p. 9, le texte de 1567 étant: "...ex adverbis...".

<sup>138</sup> Éd. citée, p. 213.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 208.

<sup>140</sup> Voir, pour plus de clarté, le tableau de l'état V dans *Scholae dialecticae* (1569), col. 609-610.

*praeceptiones* de la façon suivante: “Similis, cujus est eadem qualitas: ut, quemadmodum corpus sine anima, sic civitas sine legibus stare non potest”<sup>141</sup>. C’est le rapport de similitude, établi entre *anima* et *legibus*, qui pourrait permettre éventuellement à *anima* d’être employé comme métaphore à la place de *legibus*. C’est d’ailleurs l’explication que l’on donne de cette similitude dans la *Rhetorique* de Fouquelin: “[...] quand un mot propre à signifier quelque chose, est usurpé pour un autre semblable à icelle: comme (lumière) est proprement attribuee au soleil, quand on dit la lumière de l’esprit, c’est une métaphore...”<sup>142</sup> Ce lien donc, entre la métaphore et le lieu de l’invention *similis*, sera maintenu tout au long des textes ramistes. La définition qu’en donnent les *Rhetoricae praeceptiones*, à quelques nuances syntaxiques près, en est le fidèle reflet: “Metaphora, est tropus cum ex simili simile significatur”<sup>143</sup>.

Un autre lieu commun de l’argumentation ramiste se retrouve dans notre compendium: “Nihil est autem in rerum natura, unde simile duci non possit: ideoque et metaphora”<sup>144</sup>. Cette référence à Cicéron<sup>145</sup> est invoquée comme argument d’autorité par Ramus dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* pour rejeter toute tentative de subdivision de ce trope, comme avait voulu le faire Quintilien<sup>146</sup>, qui répartissait ce trope en quatre catégories: “[...] ab animali ad animal, ab inanimato ad inanimatum, ab animalibus ad inanima, ab inanimis ad animalia”<sup>147</sup>. L’on pourrait forger ainsi d’innombrables subdivisions, absolument inutiles puisque la part du semblable qui est dans la métaphore ne vient pas uniquement de tel ou tel aspect particulier, mais peut être puisé dans la nature entière; c’est donc une entreprise vaine et inutile<sup>148</sup>.

<sup>141</sup> F. 9 v°.

<sup>142</sup> *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 15.

<sup>143</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>144</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>145</sup> *De Oratore*, III, 161.

<sup>146</sup> VIII, 6, 9-13.

<sup>147</sup> *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 208.

<sup>148</sup> Voilà paraphrasé librement le passage suivant: “[...] liceat enim partitiones innumerabiles tales confingere, quae artis utilitatem nullam prorsus habeant: et cum metaphora similitudinis pars sit [...] quae non ex hoc vel illo rerum genere, sed ex tota rerum natura sumi possit, tam vanum et inutile est inertes species hic velle consecrari...”, éd. citée, p. 208. Ramus avait également qualifié, quelques lignes plus haut, de ridicule et d’inutile une autre tentative de Quintilien (VIII, 6, 6) de subdiviser ce trope: “[...] inanes ejus et ridiculas partitiones omittamus, quod aut necessitatis, aut significationis, aut decoris...” Il eût mieux fait alors de s’abstenir! (“[...] partitur autem sic, ut praestiterit non partiri”).



Ce refus de subdiviser la métaphore sera reconfirmé dans les rhétoriques latines de 1548 et de 1557 où est cité<sup>149</sup> d'ailleurs intégralement le texte de Cicéron qui sert toujours d'argument pour justifier ce refus. La *Rhetorique* de 1555<sup>150</sup> reprend intégralement et la prise de position et l'argument d'autorité.

De la quelle [métaphore] vouloir décrire et poursuivre certaines especes et manieres, seroit chose vaine, veu que la translation se peut prendre d'autant de choses, comme la similitude: car il n'y a rien (dit Cicéron) en la nature des choses, du nom et apellation de quoy, nous ne puissions user en autre chose.

Et pourtant, même s'ils préviennent de leur ferme volonté de ne pas diviser la métaphore en "especes", les Ramistes sentiront quand même le besoin, dans ces rhétoriques, de regrouper, sous un certain ordre, les exemples: "Parquoy nous ne meterons aucunes especes de translation, ains seulement par exemples de toutes sortes, montrerons combien l'usage de metaphore est grand en notre langue"<sup>151</sup>. Les exemples de métaphore sont donc illustrés selon un certain ordre:

- "ce qui est propres aus choses divines"...
- "est souvent pris des elementz: du feu, de la disposition de l'air, des eaus..."
- "des animaulx et choses qui ont ame, comme des plantes et arbres..."
- "Des ars et métiers des hommes"<sup>152</sup>.

Les rhétoriques du dernier groupe (1567, 1569...) vont totalement éliminer ce regroupement; cette fois, l'on appliquait à la lettre le conseil de Cicéron que l'on répète dans ces rhétoriques<sup>153</sup>. Ramus se contente

<sup>149</sup> "[...] nihil enim est in rerum natura (ut ait Cicero) cujus nos non in aliis rebus possimus uti vocabulo et nomine: unde enim simile duci potest (potest autem ex omnibus) indidem verbum unum quod similitudinem continet, translatum lumen adfert orationi" (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 11); *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 26.

<sup>150</sup> P. 15.

<sup>151</sup> P. 15. Les rhétoriques latines (1548, 1557) donnent le même texte. Ainsi la *Rhetorica* de 1549, pp. 11-12: "Quare nulla translationis genera ponemus, sed tantum quam late vis ejus pateat exemplis omnium generum illustrabimus". Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 26.

<sup>152</sup> Pp. 15-18. "[...] quae propria sunt in rebus divinis"; "ex omnibus elementis: ex igne, ex aeriis, ex aquis"; "ex animantibus [...] ex animalibus"; "ex sensibus"; "interdum etiam translatio ad humana aliqua arte ad rem aliam ducitur..." (*Rhetorica* (1549), pp. 12-13). *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 26-29, donne un texte au sens identique.

<sup>153</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 22.

de citer quelques exemples après avoir défini la métaphore et affirmé la force de ce trope. Affirmation qui s'appuie toujours sur le texte du *De oratore* de Cicéron<sup>154</sup> paraphrasé ou cité intégralement.

Tropus autem nullus est florentior, quam metaphora, nec qui plus luminis afferat orationi: praesertim si ratione sumpta sit, ad sensus ipsos admovetur, maxime oculorum, qui est sensus acerrimus: Nam et odor urbanitatis, et mollitudo humanitatis, et murmur maris, et dulcedo orationis, sunt ducta a caeteris sensibus. Illa vero oculorum multo acriora, quae ponunt pene in conspectu animi, quae cernere et videre non possumus.<sup>155</sup>

En fin de course donc, le texte s'est simplifié autour des trois éléments suivants: définition de la métaphore, affirmation de sa force dans un discours et, enfin, utilisation d'exemples pour mieux faire comprendre<sup>156</sup>. Mais l'essentiel demeure dans l'argumentation de Ramus: la *similitudo* est concentrée sur un seul mot ("Itaque metaphora, est ad unum verbum contracta similitudo"<sup>157</sup>). C'est d'ailleurs ce qui fait la force de ce trope.

Reste donc la synecdoque, que l'épitomé définit: "[...] tropus cum ex parte totum, et contra significatur: ut, cum membrum pro integro, species pro genere, finitus numerus pro magno, singularis pro plurali, et contra ponitur: ut, parricida pro interfecore, tectum pro domo"<sup>158</sup>. On retrouve dans ce texte, d'abord, la définition générale de la synecdoque, constante depuis la *Rhetorica* de 1548<sup>159</sup>, ainsi que la division traditionnelle que l'on ne peut comprendre correctement qu'en nous rapportant aux textes des rhétoriques ramusiennes. "Ex parte totum duobus modis intelligitur: primus est, cum membrum pro re integra ponitur. [...] Secundus, cum ex specie significatur genus. [...] Contra

<sup>154</sup> *De Oratore*, III, 160-161.

<sup>155</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 21.

<sup>156</sup> "Sed haec omnia plenioribus exemplis melius intelligentur", *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 22.

<sup>157</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 21. C'était reprendre, en d'autres mots, l'affirmation de Cicéron, *De Oratore*, texte établi par Henri Bornecque et traduit par Edmond Courbeau (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1961), III, 160: "[...] quod in singulis verbis res ac totum simile conficitur".

<sup>158</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>159</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 17. Fouquelin: "[...] quand par le nom de la partie, le tout est entendu, ou au contraire, quand par le nom du tout il faut entendre la partie", *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 28. Aussi, *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 39.

autem totum pro parte dicitur etiam duobus modis: aut enim totum integrum pro membro positum est. [...] Aut genus pro specie”<sup>160</sup>.

Le texte du compendium est pour le moins un peu gauche, car l’auteur y met sur le même pied l’un des modes de la partie pour le tout (*species pro genere*) et deux variantes de ce mode (*finitus numerus pro magno* et *singularis pro plurali*)<sup>161</sup>.

Enfin les termes *membrum*, *integrum*, *species*, *genus* nous renvoient nécessairement à la dialectique et au lieu de l’invention, *distributio*. De tous les lieux de l’invention que nous avons énumérés plus haut, aussi bien ceux qui servaient à expliquer les tropes que ceux qui avaient été rejetés comme ne pouvant les expliquer, il était le seul dont nous n’avions pas encore parlé. Or il est manifeste que c’est celui qui sert à comprendre la synecdoque. Autant par la définition plus générale de la distribution elle-même (“*Distributio, est distinctio totius in partes. Totum, est quod continet partes. Pars, est quae continetur a toto*”<sup>162</sup>) que par la définition de *integrum* et de *membrum* (“*Integrum, est totum, cui partes sunt essentielles. Membrum, est pars integri*”<sup>163</sup>) ainsi que de *genus* et *species* (“*Genus, est totum partibus essentielle. Species, est pars generis*”<sup>164</sup>). La *Rhetorica* de 1567 amplifie ce lien par une mise en évidence visuelle des quatre modes de la synecdoque, comme têtes de chapitre *Synecdoche membri* ; *Synecdoche speciei* ; *Synecdoche integri* ; *Synecdoche generis*, chapitres qui seront nettement identifiés dans l’édition de 1569. Il n’est donc guère étonnant que, dans son tableau de la rhétorique, Christoffe de Savigny présente la synecdoque comme la “modification de distribution”, comme il présentait la métaphore comme “modification de compareson”.

Les quatre lieux de l’invention: *consentanea* ( *caussae, effecta, subiecta, adjuncta* ), *dissentanea* , *comparatio* et *distributio* ont donc servi à expliquer et à justifier les quatre tropes. Car il ne peut y avoir que quatre modes de modification de la signification d’un mot. Cette affirmation ouvre le syllogisme des *Rhetoricae distinctiones* que nous

<sup>160</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), pp. 18-19. *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 39-41, donne sensiblement le même texte. *Rhetorica* (1567), pp. 24-32, même avec un texte sensiblement différent, ne dit pas autre chose.

<sup>161</sup> Voir *Rhetorica* (1567) , p. 26: “Sic finitum numerum dicimus pro magno”. “Sic numerus singularis pro plurali”. Aussi Fouquelin: “De laquelle sorte de Synecdoche est prise cétte maniere de dire, quand nous usons d’un certain nombre, pour un incertain...”, *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 29.

<sup>162</sup> *Dialectica A. Talaei praelectionibus illustrata* (1569), p. 183.

<sup>163</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 194.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 201.

avons déjà cité<sup>165</sup>. Elle ferme l'argumentation sur les tropes dans les rhétoriques latines de 1548 et de 1557, ainsi que dans la rhétorique française.

[...] haec troporum genera sunt omnia, nec plura esse possunt: quicquid enim vocabulum immutatum a propria significatione significare potest, vel causa est, vel effectus, vel subjectum, vel adjunctum, et Metonymiam facit: vel dissentaneum est, et Ironia vocatur: vel comparatum, et fit Metaphora: vel totum aut pars, et Synecdoche dicitur: nec rei simplicis genus in natura ullum praeterea est, ut pluribus modis significatio mutari possit.<sup>166</sup>

Car si la connaissance de la dialectique fait gravement défaut à Quintilien<sup>167</sup>, elle ne manque pas aux Ramistes.

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### ***Elocutio: Figures.***

La définition de la figure dans le compendium suit, à une nuance près, la définition des *rhethoricae* de 1567: "Figura, est elocutio, qua orationis habitus a recta et simplici consuetudine mutatur. Ut enim tropus est singularum dictionum<sup>168</sup>, sic figura junctarum: utque dictionum alia est propria, alia modificata: sic orationum alia recta, alia figurata"<sup>169</sup>. Comme pour le trope donc, il n'y a figure que s'il y a mutation, mais contrairement à celui-ci toutefois, cette mutation doit se faire dans l'*oratio*.<sup>170</sup> C'était la pensée de Ramus dès les *Rhetoricae*

<sup>165</sup> Voir plus haut, p. 266.

<sup>166</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 19. Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 45. Quant à Fouquelin, son texte n'est qu'une traduction de celui que nous citons: "Voilà les quatre sortes et manières de tropes, outre lesquelz il ne s'en peut trouver. Car tout mot qui peut signifier quelque chose, estant transferé de sa propre signification en un' autre, signifie ou quelque cause, ou effet, ou sujet, ou accident: dont se fait la Metonymie: Ou quelque contraire et repugnant, dont se fait l'Ironie, Ou quelque semblable, dont se fait la Metaphore: Ou signifie le tout, ou la partie, dont est la Synecdoche. Et n'y a rien simple en la nature des choses outre ce, en quoy se puisse changer la signification du mot" (*Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 31).

<sup>167</sup> "At dialectica (quam suis scriptis tantopere confudit) vehementer illi defuit", *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 212.

<sup>168</sup> Dans les rhétoriques de 1567, 1569, 1572, l'on trouve chaque fois "vocum" à la place de "dictionum".

<sup>169</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>170</sup> Pour la discussion sur la distinction entre trope et figure, voir plus haut, pp. 257-9.

*distinctiones*. Exprimant son accord à la définition que donne Quintilien du trope et de la figure, au début du livre IX<sup>171</sup>, il affirme: “Ornatus enim elocutionis, est mutatio dicendi a proprio et vulgari modo ad elegantiorum quendam et praestantiorum: isque duplex est in uno verbo tropus, in oratione figura dicitur”<sup>172</sup>.

Cette définition était donc fixée, dans ses points essentiels, dès 1549, comme le rappelle Meerhoff<sup>173</sup> pour les *Brutinae quaestiones*. Ramus en effet, dans cette œuvre, entre autres reproches adressés à Cicéron, au sujet de l’*Orator*<sup>174</sup>, lui rappelle quelle définition de la figure il aurait dû donner si seulement il avait eu le souci de la définir: “Figura tibi definienda fuerat. Elocutio in conjunctis verbis, qua mutatur habitus orationis...”<sup>175</sup>. Définition qui sera maintenue, avec ses distinctions fondamentales, dans les rhétoriques latines et française antérieures à 1567. Ainsi Fouquelin écrit: “Figure donques est un’ espece d’elocution, par laquelle le langage est changé de la simple et vulgaire manière de dire. Car tout ainsi que des dictiones, les unes sont propres, les autres transferees: ainsi du langage et manière de dire, l’un est simple et vulgaire, l’autre est figuré: c’est à dire un peu changé de la vulgaire et acoutumee manière de dire, qui s’offre premierement, quand nous voulons deviser et parler de quelque chose, non pas que le vulgaire n’use quelquefois de ces ornementz de Rhetorique, mais pource que ces lumieres ne reluisent pas si souvent, au langage et parler des indoctes”<sup>176</sup>. Se pose donc non seulement le problème d’un certain degré zéro de l’écriture, le langage familier<sup>177</sup>, mais également celui de la fréquence, qui serait la vraie marque du docte langage. Le fait de définir la figure, exercice imposé nécessairement à tous les rhéteurs, est déjà une tentative de marquer le degré zéro en cherchant à signaler l’écart

<sup>171</sup> IX, 1, 4.

<sup>172</sup> Éd. citée, p. 213.

<sup>173</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 208.

<sup>174</sup> *Orator*, 134-138. “...nihil definis, nihil partiris, nihil exemplis exponis”, écrit Ramus (*Brutinae Quaestiones* (1549), p. 97) qui aurait pu dire la même chose du *De Oratore*, III, 199-205. Voir Albert Yon, dans Cicéron, *Orator*, texte établi et traduit par Albert Yon (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1964), pp. LXXXV-LXXXVI.

<sup>175</sup> *Brutinae quaestiones* (1549), p. 96.

<sup>176</sup> *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 34. Ce texte, qui traduit dans sa dernière partie la *Rhetorica* de 1548, sera repris intégralement dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557. Voir l’édition de 1562, pp. 48-49.

<sup>177</sup> Voir, pour être complet, la *Rhetorica* de 1548: “Figura, est elocutio, qua oratio a vulgari consuetudine mutatur...” (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 20) et la *Rhetorica* de 1557: “Figura est elocutio, quae oratio a recta et simplici consuetudine mutatur...” (*Rhetorica* (1562), p. 48).

qui permet de distinguer la figure. Mais, sur la fréquence, rien, sur le plan théorique, ne peut être précisément dit et rien n'est dit de plus précis que ce que nous avons déjà cité. Toutefois il est bien évident que, pour Ramus, plus la fréquence des figures est élevée, plus l'écart d'avec le langage commun devient évident.

"Figura aut est dictionis, aut sententiae"<sup>178</sup>. L'auteur du compendium est non seulement fidèle à la division ramusienne, mais également à la division classique. Cette division est celle de la majorité des rhéteurs, y compris Cicéron et Quintilien qui écrit: "Inter plurimos enim, quod sciam, consensus est duas ejus esse partes, διανοίας, id est mentis vel sensus vel sententiarum [...] et λέξεως, id est verborum vel dictionis vel elocutionis vel sermonis vel orationis"<sup>179</sup>.

Cette belle concordance avec les classiques cessera dès qu'il sera question de la définition de la figure de diction et de toutes les notions que les Ramistes rassemblent sous cet immense chapeau. Voyons cela de plus près. Le compendium définit la *figura dictionis* de la façon suivante: "...est orationis quidam sonus et numerus, ex apta et jucunda dictionum inter se resonantium similitudine"<sup>180</sup>. C'est, pour l'essentiel, la définition même de la *Rhetorica* de 1567<sup>181</sup> d'où l'on peut conclure dans un premier temps à l'équation suivante *figura = numerus*. Si cette équation est nettement établie dès les débuts de la réflexion ramiste<sup>182</sup>, Fouquelin la dramatisera, pour ainsi dire, encore plus clairement, s'il est possible: "La figure de la diction est une figure qui rend l'oraison douce et harmonieuse, par une resonance de diction, apelée des anciens Nombre, la quelle s'apperçoit aveq plaisir et delectation. Parquoy si je dis du nombre, je diray de la figure de diction"<sup>183</sup>. Cette équation se complique dès que l'on comprend le sens que donnent les Ramistes à *numerus*. En effet si, pour Cicéron, *numerus* n'était qu'une composante de la *collocatio verborum* avec la *compositio* et la *concinnitas*<sup>184</sup>, si pour Quintilien, *numerus* n'est qu'un des aspects, avec l'*ordo* et la  *junctura*

<sup>178</sup> F., 3 r°.

<sup>179</sup> Éd. citée, IX, 1, 17.

<sup>180</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>181</sup> "Figura dictionis, est figura qua elocutio figuratur dictionibus apte et jucunde inter sese resonantibus. Itaque figura dictionis, nihil aliud est, quam elocutionis sonus quidam [var. 1572: harmonia quaedam] et numerus" (p. 34).

<sup>182</sup> Voir Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-216, pour les *Brutinae quaestiones* et pp. 216-220, pour les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*.

<sup>183</sup> *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 35. La *Rhetorica* de 1557 reprendra, pour l'essentiel, ce texte (*Rhetorica* (1562), p. 49).

<sup>184</sup> *Orator*, XLIV, 149 et Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, p. CXIII.

de la *compositio*, que ce dernier entend au sens de “l’arrangement des mots”<sup>185</sup>, par contre Ramus, dès ses premiers travaux, a tendance à aplatir tellement les notions qu’il aboutit, selon l’image de Meerhoff<sup>186</sup>, à “l’équation-monstre: *collocatio = compositio = constructio = conformatio = concinnitas = numerus = figura*”. Fondamentalement cette équation se modifiera très peu au cours des années. Il n’est donc guère étonnant que dans le compendium que nous étudions et dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567 qui l’inspire, la *figura dictionis* qui est aussi *numerus* englobe, dans un monstrueux appétit, non seulement ce qui est propre aux figures de diction, mais aussi le rythme poétique et oratoire<sup>187</sup>. “[...] quae [figura dictionis] aut est in soni dimensione tum poetica, tum oratoria: aut ejusdem repetitione” peut-on lire dans notre texte en prolongement de la définition de la *figura dictionis*<sup>188</sup>. Ce qui pourrait se traduire par le schéma suivant:

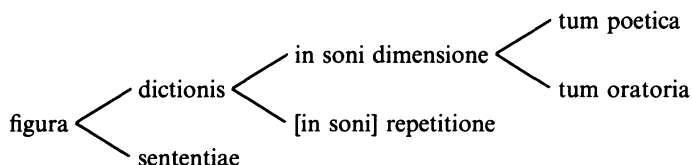


Schéma qui est semblable, pour ces notions de base, à la *Tabula* de Claude Mignault<sup>189</sup>. Toutefois, si l’on étudie plus attentivement la suite de la *Tabula*, l’on se rend compte que Mignault divise le *numerus poeticus* en *rhythmus* et *metrum*, fidèle, comme toujours, à la *Rhetorica* de 1567 qui divisait de la même façon le nombre poétique<sup>190</sup>. Le

<sup>185</sup> Quintilien, *Institution oratoire*, texte établi et traduit par Jean Cousin (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1975-1980), notice du livre IX, pp. 142-144.

<sup>186</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 218. Le travail de Kees Meerhoff est indispensable pour comprendre l’évolution de la rhétorique ramusienne sous plusieurs aspects, mais particulièrement sur la notion de *numerus* et d’autres notions connexes, comme la *figura dictionis*, puisque, comme il le dit lui-même, son “champ d’observation [était] constitué par un nombre de textes théoriques où il [était] question du *rythme*, soit en prose, soit en poésie” (p. 4).

<sup>187</sup> Cet appétit fut constant, même si le menu a pu varier quelque peu. Voir les schémas des diverses rhétoriques qu’a établis Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.* : pour 1548, p. 233; pour 1557, p. 275 et pour 1567, p. 315.

<sup>188</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>189</sup> Voir à la toute fin de *A. Talaei rhetorica, una cum [...] commentationibus, per Claudium Minoem* (Paris 1577). Rien d’étonnant, car la *Rhetorica* de 1567 avait dit essentiellement la même chose: “Figura dictionis, est in sonorum dimensione vel repetitione. Dimensio, est poetica vel oratoria” (p. 35). Kees Meerhoff (*op. cit.*, p. 300) confirme l’opinion de W.J. Ong comme quoi *dimensio = numerus*, pour les Ramistes.

<sup>190</sup> “Numerus poeticus, est rhythmus aut metrum” (p. 36).

compendium, par contre, ne retiendra de la dichotomie que le *metrum* : "Poetica soni dimensio metrum est..."<sup>191</sup>. Ce qui ne surprend guère, puisque ce texte (le compendium) est avant tout un texte pédagogique et qu'il n'était sans doute pas utile aux écoliers, auxquels il était destiné, de réfléchir à une métrique fondée sur la quantité des syllabes et sur la rime<sup>192</sup>, plongés qu'ils étaient dans des textes latins classiques. Valait donc mieux, dans ce petit texte, s'en tenir à la métrique classique.

Le *metrum* est donc défini "quod certos pedes certis locis collocatos continet"<sup>193</sup>, définition qui est celle de la *Rhetorica* de 1567 à quelques nuances près<sup>194</sup>. Lorsque l'on connaît le souci pédagogique des Ramistes, la définition du pied devait suivre immédiatement. "Pes, est dimensio certis syllabarum temporibus definita: estque bisyllabus, aut trissyllabus"<sup>195</sup>. Cette définition, fidèle en tous points à celle de la *Rhetorica* de 1567, s'inspire de Quintilien qui affirme que le pied ne doit jamais dépasser plus de trois syllabes<sup>196</sup>. La liste des pieds énumérés dans les *rhetoricae* sera donc la même que celle de l'auteur de l'*Institution Oratoire*<sup>197</sup> ; toutefois dans la rhétorique de 1567, la rage dichotomique atteint une perfection rarement dépassée<sup>198</sup>. Ainsi le pied est divisé en *bisyllabus* ou *trisyllabus*, chacune de ces catégories en *simplex aut mistus* ... L'auteur du compendium sera plus modeste: il ne retient que quatre vers de deux pieds et que quatre vers de trois pieds; sa division, beaucoup plus simple, repose toujours, comme Ramus toutefois, sur le nombre de syllabes<sup>199</sup>. Un petit tableau, qui s'inspire des

<sup>191</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>192</sup> L'on ne peut comprendre autrement la définition du *rhythmus* donné par Ramus dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567: "Rhythmus, est numerus poeticus, certum syllabarum numerum certa clausula terminatum continens"(p. 36). Kees Meerhoff a très bien étudié (pp. 276-316) la genèse et l'évolution de la pensée de Ramus sur ce sujet, depuis le *Traité des meurs et façons des Anciens Gaulois* (1559) jusqu'à la *Rhetorica* de 1567: le *rhythmus* y est présenté comme l'état premier et ancestral de toute rythmique, commun à toutes les cultures, et ne pouvant évoluer que vers une rythmique mesurée, selon le modèle des Latins et des Grecs.

<sup>193</sup> F. 3 r°.

<sup>194</sup> P. 38.

<sup>195</sup> F. 3r°-3v°.

<sup>196</sup> "Equidem Ciceronem sequar [...] excepto quod pes mihi tris syllabas non videtur excedere..." éd. citée (IX,4,79); voir aussi *ibid.*, 80: "[...] quidquid est enim supra tris syllabas, id est ex pluribus pedibus".

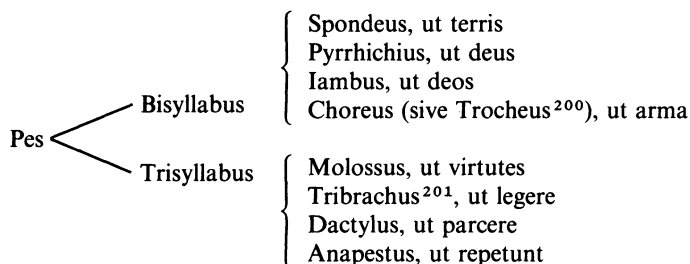
<sup>197</sup> IX,4, 80-82; *Rhetorica* (1549), pp. 55-56; *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 50-51; *Rhetorica* (1567), pp. 38-39.

<sup>198</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 309, l'a déjà signalé.

<sup>199</sup> Par contre Jacques-Louis d'Estreby, en plus de répartir les pieds selon le nombre de syllabes, les regroupe selon la mesure (*De Electione* (Paris 1538), f. 94 r° et v°).



rhétoriques de 1548 et de 1557, nous dispensera de reproduire un texte qui répète les descriptions et les exemples (à quelques exceptions près) de la *Rhetorica* de 1567.



Le compendium ne signale donc que quatre pieds de trois syllabes; il y a là une économie, que nous nommerions pédagogique: ces pieds entrant dans la composition des vers les plus courants en poésie latine. Mieux, la liste des vers qu'énumérera l'auteur du compendium, liste qui est la même que celle de la *Rhetorica* de 1567<sup>202</sup>, ne le conduira qu'à utiliser cinq des huit pieds qu'il avait décrits (spondée, trochée, dactyle, molosse, anapeste). Ici aussi un schéma épargnera des descriptions oiseuses.

Bimetrum:	Adonium: "constans dactylo, et spondeo"
Tetrametrum:	Asclepiadeum: "e molosso, anapesto, et duobus dactylis"
Pentametrum:	Phaleucium: "ex spondeo, dactylo, et trocheis tribus"
	Saphicum: "ex trocheo, spondeo, dactylo, et trocheis duobus"
	Elegum: "duobus primis locis e dactylo vel spondeo, tertio spondeo cum anapestis duobus"
Hexametrum:	"constat quatuor primis locis spondeo vel dactylo, quinto dactylo, sexto spondeo".

L'auteur du compendium termine cette énumération par une sorte d'aveu: "Alia vero sunt multa pedum et versuum genera, quae ex poetis

<sup>200</sup> Cf. Quintilien, éd. citée, IX, 4, 80: "[...] huic contrarium e longa et brevi choreum, non ut alii trochaicum nominemus".

<sup>201</sup> *Ibid.*, 82: "Tres breves trochaicum, quem tribrachyn dici volunt qui choreo trochaicum nomen imponunt..."

<sup>202</sup> La description des vers et la plupart des exemples sont aussi tirés de la même rhétorique.

petenda sunt". Affirmation que l'on retrouvait, en d'autres termes, dans les rhétoriques de 1557 et de 1567<sup>203</sup>. Tous ces textes sont en effet bien incomplets. Il s'agit de feuilleter un traité de métrique classique pour s'en convaincre: plusieurs pieds et vers ne sont pas mentionnés (entre autres les vers iambiques et trochaïques), même si l'on prend la peine pourtant de décrire le distique élégiaque et la strophe sapphique sommairement<sup>204</sup>. C'est que Ramus et les Ramistes, malgré leur volonté d'intégrer la réflexion sur le rythme poétique dans leurs rhétoriques, sont encore tributaires des ouvrages de Quintilien et de Cicéron, dont ils ont fait une analyse critique; la synthèse qu'ils en tirent sur ce sujet ne peut être qu'imparfaite et il serait vain de vouloir y chercher un traité de métrique latine, puisque, pour les auteurs qui alimentent leur réflexion, l'étude des pieds ne sert qu'à l'étude du rythme de la prose oratoire<sup>205</sup>. Il est vrai que les vers énumérés par Ramus et par l'auteur anonyme du compendium, sont utilisés par un nombre considérable de poètes: pour l'hexamètre, Lucrèce, Catulle, Virgile, Ovide, Horace, Perse, Juvénal; pour le pentamètre et le distique élégiaque, Properce, Martial, Tibulle, Ovide; pour la strophe sapphique (dont le quatrième vers est un adonique), Horace et Catulle; pour le phalécien, Catulle, Stace, Martial; enfin pour l'asclépiade, Horace. Mais cette énumération peut faire illusion, car un poète n'utilise pas toujours un seul type de vers dans une œuvre: ainsi est-il impossible de comprendre la métrique d'Horace dans ses *Odes* et dans ses *Épodes*, en s'en tenant uniquement à la strophe sapphique ou au vers asclépiade ou à l'hexamètre dactylique puisque les vers iambiques et alcaïques se retrouvent dans de nombreuses pièces<sup>206</sup>; de même, dans Catulle, le choliambe occupe une place de choix à côté de l'hendécasyllabe phalécien<sup>207</sup>. En ignorant les rythmes iambiques et trochaïques, non seulement nos auteurs oublièrent-ils la "versification dramatique"<sup>208</sup>, mais ils négligeaient un aspect fondamental de la poésie lyrique.

<sup>203</sup> *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 59 et *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 42.

<sup>204</sup> "[...] Saphicum ex trocheo, spondeo, dactylo, et trocheis duobus, cui ter repetito Adonium subjungitur. [...] Pentametrum Elegum ab Hexametro nunquam separatur..." (f. 3 v°). *Rhetorica* (1567), pp. 41-42.

<sup>205</sup> Voir par exemple Quintilien, éd. citée, IX, 4, 79: "Sed quia omnem oratoriam compositionem pedibus constare dixi, aliqua de his quoque..."; 83: "Horum pedum nullus non in orationem venit..."

<sup>206</sup> Horace utilise aussi, pour ne nommer que quelques autres vers, le glyconique, le phérecratien, etc... Cf. Horace, *Odes et épodes*, texte établi et traduit par F. Villeneuve (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1959), pp. LXXVIII-LXXXIII.

<sup>207</sup> Catulle, *Poésies*, texte établi et traduit par Georges Lafaye (Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1922), p. XXVI.

<sup>208</sup> Cf. Louis Nougaret, *Traité de métrique latine classique* (Paris 1956), pp. 60-63.

Pour le *numerus oratorius*, les *Rhetoricae Praeceptiones* ne font que reproduire les temps forts de l'argumentation de la *Rhetorica* de 1567 en insistant sur l'origine du nombre oratoire et sur les défauts à éviter dans la prose. Comparons les textes.

***Rhetoricae praeceptiones***

Oratoria soni dimensio, est in observatione quadam pedum, poeticae, et sibi ipsi semper dissimilis, nec perpetua, nec ubique necessaria: in qua versus fugiendus est, nisi authoritatis aut voluptatis gratia aliunde citetur: principium et exitum carminis, ne principium vel exitum hujus facito: numerum eundem in clausula ne continuato, sed varie dissimiliterque temperato. (fo. 4<sup>r</sup>)

***Rhetorica* (1567)**

Oratorius est numerus quidem non incertus, sed tamen et poetico, et sibi ipsi perpetuo dissimilis. (p. 43) [...] Numerus oratorius [...] totus est in observatione pedum (p. 45). [...] Unica enim consideratio hic est, ut prosae numerus sit non solum poetici numeri (quod generaliter praeceptum est) sed etiam sui ipse dissimilis. In prosa itaque versum fugito: citare tamen licet aliunde authoritatis, aut voluptatis gratia... [...] deinde principium et exitum carminis, ne principium vel exitum prosae facito. (p. 47) [...] Numerum igitur eundem in clausula, ne continuato, sed varie dissimiliterque temperato... (p. 48)

Ce sont là bien sûr des lieux communs que l'on retrouve dans Cicéron et Quintilien et à l'autorité desquels Ramus fera appel, dans sa *Rhetorica* <sup>209</sup> de 1567, pour étayer son argumentation. L'*Orator* de Cicéron lui servira d'abord de source<sup>210</sup> pour rappeler l'origine métrique de la prose oratoire et le rôle qu'auraient joué dans cette invention Thrasy-mache, Gorgias et Isocrate. Ensuite il empruntera à Quintilien<sup>211</sup> le long passage qui suit sur l'hyperbate, avant de revenir à Cicéron, aussi bien le théoricien (il citera alors l'*Orator*, 228-229) que le

<sup>209</sup> Voir Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 309. Voir les rhétoriques latines antérieures et les *Rhetoricae Distinctiones* (1549), p. 223.

<sup>210</sup> 174-175-176.

<sup>211</sup> VIII, 6, 62-67.

praticien (il renverra au vingt discours qu'il avait déjà expliqués<sup>212</sup>) pour affirmer la nécessité du nombre oratoire. Suit alors l'énumération des défauts à éviter et, *a contrario*, des qualités à cultiver qui seront largement illustrées par des exemples puisés là encore dans les discours et la théorie de Cicéron<sup>213</sup>. Le compendium, de par sa nature, fait l'économie d'une telle argumentation, comme d'ailleurs les tableaux dichotomiques, que ce soit celui de Mignault ou celui de Christofle de Savigny, même s'ils insistent sur la division fondamentale de la figure de diction qui est "in sonorum dimensione vel repetitione"<sup>214</sup>. Meerhoff<sup>215</sup> a bien démontré que cette division bipartite de la figure de diction date de la *Rhetorique* de Fouquelin et qu'elle fut adoptée par la *Rhetorica* de 1557. Dans les *Brutinae quaestiones*<sup>216</sup> et dans la *Rhetorica*<sup>217</sup> de 1548, la division était tripartite: *in repetitione*, *in commutatione*, *in numero*.

Dans cette dernière division, les figures de diction proprement dites se répartissaient sous les deux premiers *genres* de la façon suivante: "in repetitione: epizeuxis, anaphora, epistrophe, symploche, epanodos, epianalepsis, anadiplosis; in commutatione: ordinis: gradatio; casus: polyp-ton; significationis: paronomasia"<sup>218</sup>. La nouvelle division dichotomique, par contre, a eu pour conséquence le regroupement de toutes ces figures sous un seul *genre*, la *repetitio*, celle-ci, englobant désormais la *paronomasia*, la *gradatio* et la polyp-tote. S'ensuivent alors d'autres subdivisions dichotomiques portant sur l'*ordo* et sur la similitude des répétitions. Ainsi la *Rhetorica* de 1557 établissait la distinction suivante: "In hujus suavitatis consecratione alias certus ordo similium vocum

<sup>212</sup> "... ipsius viginti praestantissimae orationes P. Rami diligentia observatae..." (pp. 46-47).

<sup>213</sup> Voir pp. 48-55. Ainsi, à la page 51, juste avant la citation de l'*Orator* (232-233), on lit: "...ut Ciceronis non solum exemplo, sed etiam iudicio percipi potest". À la p. 53: "...iudicium autem ipsum laudo et approbo".

<sup>214</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 35.

<sup>215</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 208-209, 233, 244, 265-270, 275, 294-297 et p. 315; voir aussi Roy E. Leake Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

<sup>216</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 96.

<sup>217</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 45.

<sup>218</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 208. Voir *Brutinae quaestiones* (1549), p. 96. *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 45: "Hujus genera tria sunt, Repetitio, Commutatio et Numerus". Étrangement, et contrairement à ce texte des *Brutinae Quaestiones*, cette rhétorique fait de la *correctio*, non seulement une figure de pensée (p. 40), mais aussi une figure de mots: "Correctio, commutatio est in verbo, cum ipsum reprehenditur..." (p. 54). Cette confusion sera définitivement levée dans les rhétoriques postérieures. Voir Roy E. Leake Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 98-99.

spectatur, alias non item”<sup>219</sup>. La *Rhetorica* de 1567 sera encore plus explicite: après avoir divisé les figures d’une façon générale selon la similitude des répétitions (“sequitur quae est in soni repetitione et quidem similis, aut dissimilis”<sup>220</sup>), elle répartira le *similis* en multiples subdivisions: “continue vel disjuncte”, le *continue*, “in eadem sententia vel in diversis”, etc...<sup>221</sup>. Le compendium s’en tiendra par contre à la division fondamentale (“Soni repetitio, aut est in simili dictione, aut dissimili”<sup>222</sup>), répartissant les figures dans l’une ou l’autre des catégories<sup>223</sup>.

On retrouve donc, pour les figures de mots, le souci habituel des Ramistes de dichotomiser, d’hierarchiser en espèces et genres les principales notions. S’expliquent alors les reproches adressés à Cicéron, dans les *Brutinae quaestiones* (“nihil partiris”<sup>224</sup>), à Quintilien et aux rhéteurs dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (“In his [figuris verborum] vero tantam confusionem non apud Quintilianum solum, sed omnes rhetoras video...”<sup>225</sup>). Le mot est lâché, “confusionem”, pour les figures comme pour le reste, sans compter “l’absence et/ou l’incohérence des définitions”; en un mot “l’absence totale d’une méthode”<sup>226</sup>. Voilà pour la critique générale.

Ramus se fera cependant plus précis dans sa critique des positions de Quintilien sur les figures de mots. Il lui reproche d’abord vivement d’avoir prétendu qu’elles étaient de deux genres, appartenant par l’un à la grammaire, par l’autre à la rhétorique<sup>227</sup>, accusant Quintilien de tout

<sup>219</sup> *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 66-67.

<sup>220</sup> P.55.

<sup>221</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 55. Voir l’extrait de la *tabula* de Mignault, annexe 2.

<sup>222</sup> F. 4 r°.

<sup>223</sup> “In simili est Epizeuxis, Anadiplosis, Climax, Anaphora, Epistrophe, Epanalepsis, aut Epanodos” (f. 4 r°). “In dissimili dictione aut est Paronomasia, aut Polypoton” (f. 4 v°).

<sup>224</sup> (1549), p. 97.

<sup>225</sup> Éd. citée, p. 218. Et Ramus de continuer: “Nihil est arte tractatum, non definita in universum verborum figura, non generum distributio facta...” Albert Yon, dans l’introduction de son édition de l’*Orator*, déjà citée, affirme que “l’énumération [des figures de diction] n’est donnée par lui [Cicéron] que pour être complet, et présentée d’ailleurs, comme celle du *De Oratore*, d’une manière si succincte que, malgré l’admiration que lui manifeste Quintilien, elle fait ici aussi figure d’appendice ou de note de bas de page qui n’instruira que ceux qui savent déjà de quoi il s’agit” (pp. LXXXV-LXXXVI).

<sup>226</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 206.

<sup>227</sup> “Verum schemata lexeos duorum sunt generum [...] Quorum tametsi utrumque convenit orationi, tamen possis illud grammaticum, hoc rhetoricum magis dicere”(Quintilien, éd. citée, IX, 3, 2).

confondre, grammaire, dialectique et rhétorique, si bien qu'il aurait dû nommer ses "rhetoricas institutiones" "grammadilectoricas", et lui rappelant au passage que l'enseignement de chaque art doit être homogène<sup>228</sup>. Il conclut sa critique sur les figures de grammaire par cette remarque<sup>229</sup> acidulée, presque ironique, sur la faculté d'argumenter de Quintilien: "Atque totus hic de grammaticis figuris tam confusus locus Quintiliani dialecticam valde demonstrat"<sup>230</sup>.

Pour ce qui est des autres figures de mots, celles qui concernent la rhétorique, la critique de Ramus se fera plus systématique, même s'il n'étudie pas toutes les figures énumérées par Quintilien. Tout au long de son analyse<sup>231</sup>, il rejettera des figures (μεταβολή, dissipatio, synonymia verborum et sententiarum, ἔλλειψις, συνοικείωσις, παραδιαστολή, ἀντανάκλασις) et en classera d'autres dans les figures de grammaire (ἁσύνδετον, συνεζευγμένον). Il retiendra toutefois comme figures de mots "ἐπίζευξις, ἐπανάληψις, ἀναδίπλωσις, ἐπάνοδος, ἀναφορά, ἐπιστροφή, συμπλοκή", qu'il reproche à Quintilien d'énumérer sans les nommer, ainsi que "πολύπτωτον et gradatio", même si pour celles-ci, il rappelle qu'elles sont des figures "quae duae commutationem habent, non adjectionem"<sup>232</sup>, et la paronomase, même si, telle qu'elle est vue par Quintilien, elle n'est rien d'autre que la polyptote ou la *correctio*. Et Ramus de donner alors la vraie définition de la paronomase: "Atque his duobus nominibus τῆς προσονομασίας καὶ παρωνομασίας, cum nihil significetur, nisi figura ea in qua verbum paululum immutatum atque deflexum varia significatione usurpetur"<sup>233</sup>. Donc dix figures, qui resteront les mêmes tout au long des rhétoriques, quelles que soient les cases dans lesquelles on les répartira.

Restent alors les figures gorgianiques. Quintilien en mentionnait cinq: πάρισον, ὁμοιοτέλετον, ὁμοιόπτωτον, ἰσόκωλον et ἀντίθετον. La distinction entre πάρισον et ἰσόκωλον n'est pas toujours très nette et certains rhéteurs ont tendance à n'en faire qu'une seule figure<sup>234</sup>. Au

<sup>228</sup> "Doceat enim grammaticus grammaticas, rhetor rhetoricas figuras: non misceantur in rhetoricis grammaticae..." (Éd. citée, p. 218). C'est le rappel de la loi d'homogénéité. Voir p. 255.

<sup>229</sup> Remarque récurrente dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549).

<sup>230</sup> Éd. citée, p. 219.

<sup>231</sup> Toujours dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), pp. 219-220.

<sup>232</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 219.

<sup>233</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>234</sup> Voir la discussion dans Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, p. XC, # 9-10 et p. XCIV, note 10 bis-10 ter.

XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, Jacques-Louis d'Estrebay ne retiendra que quatre figures gorgianiques: "[...] similiter desinentia [ὁμοιοτέλευτον], similiter cadentia [ὁμοιόπτωτον], paria paribus relata [ἰσόκωλον], et contraria [ἀντίθετον]"<sup>235</sup>. Ramus se situera dans cette tradition lorsqu'il affirmera que ἰσόκωλον et πάρισον sont une seule et même chose<sup>236</sup>. Quant à l'antithèse, il ne la reconnaît pas comme une figure et un petit syllogisme à la façon ramusienne doit nous en convaincre: "[...] argumentum enim figura non est, ἀντίθετον autem ex dissimilibus argumentum est: non igitur figura"<sup>237</sup>. Donc, pour Ramus, il ne reste que trois figures gorgianiques, placées dans les figures de mots et qui seront étudiées d'abord dans la *Rhetorica* de 1548 dans la section consacrée au *numerus*<sup>238</sup>; en 1557, ces figures sont même réduites à deux (ἰσόκωλον et ὁμοιοτέλευτον) et elles sont étudiées non seulement en conclusion de la section consacrée aux figures de répétition, mais aussi, pour l'homéotéleute, comme élément sonore servant, aussi bien que le mot entier, à créer l'effet de répétition dans les figures suivantes: épizeux, anaphore, épistrophe, symploque<sup>239</sup>; en 1567, toujours dans la *Rhetorica*, c'est à la suite de la définition de l'épistrophe que se trouvent évoqués les gorgianismes. Nous citons:

Epistrophe seu conversio, est numerus, quo similis sonus in clausulis iteratur. Hic autem rhythmus quidam oratorius persaepe resonat in membris paribus, quae idcirco jam olim πάρισα καὶ ἰσόκωλα nominata sunt: addita sunt etiam ἀντίθετα et ὁμοιόπτωτα: quae quanvis insint, nihil tamen ad orbem concinnitatis hujus (ut Cicero appellat) efficiunt: sed totum efficitur similiter desinentium ἐπιστροφή, et conversione: quae ideo ὁμοιοτέλευτα dicuntur<sup>240</sup>.

Effet réducteur de l'envahissante perspective généalogique? ... Sûrement. Et Meerhoff écrit avec raison: "Ce 'rythme oratoire', effectué par l'*isocola* et l'*homéotéleute*, est la variante en prose du rythme poétique, réalisé par le nombre égal de syllabes et la rime"<sup>241</sup>.

Il y a plus. L'épistrophe contient dans sa définition le terme *numerus*. L'on sait que ce terme ou son équivalent français, *nombre*, qualifiait

<sup>235</sup> *De electione* (Paris 1538), f.85 r°. Voir aussi f. 65 v°.

<sup>236</sup> "[...] cum primum [πάρισον] et quartum [ἰσόκωλον] idem sit, et utrumque fiat e paribus membris, nec quicquam differant", *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 220.

<sup>237</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 220.

<sup>238</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 62. Voir Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

<sup>239</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *ibid.*, pp. 271-272.

<sup>240</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 62.

<sup>241</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 312-313.

chacune des figures de répétition de la *Rhetorique* de 1555 et de la *Rhetorica* de 1557. Par contre à partir de 1567, seule l'épistrophe conserve *numerus* dans sa définition. Meerhoff<sup>242</sup>, après avoir rappelé que Ramus désormais n'établit nommément un lien avec l'homéotéleute que pour cette figure, affirme que la suppression du terme *numerus* dans toutes les autres définitions des figures conjure la dangereuse 'fusion' des catégories poétiques et rhétoriques<sup>243</sup>; il explique aussi le maintien du *numerus*, dans la définition de l'épistrophe, par le fait que pour "la *concininitas* [...] et en particulier [pour] la *rime* en poésie et l'*homéotéleute* en prose, [Ramus] est obligé de tolérer une faille dans son système méticuleux: ici, les cloisons étanches entre la *dimensio* et la *repetitio* se montrent inopérantes, pour la simple raison que la *clausula* du rythme poétique (domaine de la *dimensio*) et l'épistrophe (domaine de la *repetitio*) se confondent. D'où la résurgence au cœur de la catégorie de la *soni repetitio*, des termes *numerus* et *rhythmus* à côté de celui d'*iteratio* (synonyme de *repetitio*)".

Toutefois la *Rhetorica* de 1567 n'a pas éliminé toutes les ambiguïtés, peu s'en faut. Prenons le cas de l'épizeux. Le premier exemple illustrant la définition ne porte que sur des répétitions de sons et non de mots entiers. "Hic P. ille Scipio natus mihi videtur ad interitum exitiumque Carthaginis, qui illam a multis imperatoribus obsessam, oppugnatam, labefactatam, pene captam, aliquando quasi fatali eventu solus evertit: sic Titus Annius ad illam pestem comprimendam, extinguendam, funditus delendam natus esse videtur..."<sup>244</sup>. À la suite de cet exemple, Ramus prend bien soin de préciser: "Hic solum numerus, non vox iteratur: in sequentibus, voces iterantur". Et alors suivent des textes où la répétition porte sur un mot entier. Cette remarque, qui sépare deux types d'exemples, montre bien qu'il n'y a pas inadvertance de la part de l'auteur. Pour Ramus, l'épizeux peut donc s'étendre à des mots ayant une terminaison sonore semblable (donc à l'homéotéleute) pourvu que ces mots se suivent. Donc, s'il ne fait pas clairement de lien entre l'épizeux et l'homéotéleute dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567 comme le faisait Talon dans la *Rhetorica*<sup>245</sup> de 1557, Ramus maintient toutefois indirectement ce lien par les exemples. Nous pourrions faire les mêmes

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 312.

<sup>243</sup> "[...] le nombre est du ressort de la *dimensio*, les figures du ressort de la *repetitio*" (*ibid.*, p. 312).

<sup>244</sup> PP.55-56. Exemple tiré de Cicéron, *De haruspicum*..., 4,7.

<sup>245</sup> *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 69.



remarques au sujet de l'anaphore et de la symploque, mais nous nous contenterons de citer l'exemple que donne Ramus pour cette dernière figure, exemple déjà cité dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557<sup>246</sup>: "Spem improbis ostendistis: timorem bonis injecistis: fidem de foro, dignitatem de Republica sustulistis"<sup>247</sup>.

Donc si l'homéotéleute n'est plus présent dans les textes théoriques, cette figure hante toujours les dernières rhétoriques dans les exemples. Le système n'est pas encore parfait et les ambiguïtés persistent. À preuve cette petite phrase, au cœur de la démonstration sur l'épizeux, "Hic solum numerus, non vox iteratur..."<sup>248</sup> et qui n'est pas sans susciter quelques questions.

L'épitomé n'entrera pas dans ces profondes distinctions. De même que l'auteur anonyme avait éliminé tout ce qui touchait au *rhythmus*, de même *numerus* est enlevé de la définition de l'épistrophe; les exemples portent sur des mots entiers et non sur l'homéotéleute. L'auteur s'en tient aux notions les plus explicites et les plus claires; c'est un ouvrage scolaire après tout.

### Figures de pensée.

Dans les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, Ramus faisait le reproche suivant à Quintilien: "At Quintilianus non definit figuram sententiae, non partitur: sed suo more [...] haec permiscet et confundit"<sup>249</sup>; dans les *Brutinae quaestiones*, Cicéron était accusé de ne rien définir, de ne rien diviser<sup>250</sup>. Il n'est guère étonnant dès lors que l'épitomé, comme toutes les rhétoriques ramistes, ouvre l'étude des figures de pensée par une définition, qui est celle d'ailleurs de la *Rhetorica* de 1567: "[...] figura sententiae, qua oratio [...] animi motu affectae figuratur"<sup>251</sup>. Ce qui ne

<sup>246</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78. *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 65.

<sup>247</sup> Cicéron, *De lege agraria*, I, 23.

<sup>248</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 56.

<sup>249</sup> *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 216.

<sup>250</sup> Éd. citée, p. 97.

<sup>251</sup> *Rhetoricae praeceptiones*, f. 4 v°, *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 70. Même texte dans la version de 1569. Le texte de la *Rhetorica* de 1572 varie quelque peu: "... est figura quae totam sententiam aliquo animi motu afficit" (p. 55). Définition qui est fidèle, pour l'essentiel, à celle des *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 216: "Est autem in absoluta sententia totius orationis conformatio, et ideo mutatis verbis etiam manet". Ce texte-ci sera maintenu dans les éditions des *Scholae rhetoricae* et influencera les *rhetoricae* de 1548 et de 1557. Sa dernière partie ("... et ideo mutatis ...") reproduit un lieu commun de la rhétorique ancienne (voir Cicéron, *De Oratore*, III, 201; *Orator*, 81; *Rhetores latini minores*, éd. Halm, p. 127, 4; p. 480, 5).

surprendra pas le lecteur. Comme pour les tropes, comme pour les figures de diction, l'auteur anonyme du compendium suit fidèlement la rhétorique de la dernière période pour les figures de pensée. Ainsi celles-ci seront-elles divisées en “sine collocutione, aut cum illa”<sup>252</sup> ou, selon le texte de la *Rhetorica* de 1567, in “logismo” ou “sine collocutione” et in “dialogismo” ou “cum collocutione”<sup>253</sup> alors que toutes les rhétoriques antérieures<sup>254</sup> adoptaient la division des *Rhetoricae distinctiones*<sup>255</sup>, identique d'ailleurs à celle des *Brutinae quaestiones*<sup>256</sup>. Un tableau comparatif aidera à faire comprendre.

#### Traité antérieurs à 1567<sup>257</sup>

1. *In petitione* (a), *aut in responsione* (b), *aut in utraque* (c):  
a): optatio, deprecatio, addubitatio, communicatio;  
b): permissio, concessio;  
c): prolepsis.
2. *In fictione*: prosopopoeia, [ἀπόφασις ou praeteritio: antérieur à 1555]
3. *In abruptione*: digressio, aversio, reticentia, correctio.
4. *In amplificatione*: exclamatio, sustentatio, licentia.

#### Rhétoriques de 1567

- I. *In logismo* ou *sine collocutione*:  
1.1: exclamatio  
1.2: revocatio:  
1.2.1: correctio  
1.2.2: reticentia  
2.1: apostrophe  
2.2: prosopopoeia
- II. *In dialogismo* ou *cum collocutione*:  
1.1: Interrogatio:  
1.1.1: deliberatio:  
1.1.1.1: addubitatio  
1.1.1.2: communicatio  
1.1.2: prolepsis  
1.2: responsio:  
1.2.1: permissio  
1.2.2: concessio

Bien sûr l'épitomé n'entrera pas dans cette fureur dichotomique. S'il garde le même nombre de figures que la *Rhetorica* de 1567, il les

<sup>252</sup> F. 4v°.

<sup>253</sup> P. 72 et p. 96.

<sup>254</sup> Celle de 1548 (voir éd. de 1549, p. 20) et celle de 1557 (voir éd. de 1562, pp. 88-89).

<sup>255</sup>: “... in interrogatione [...], qua petitur aliquid, est optatio, deprecatio, addubitatio, communicatio. In responsione permissio, concessio continentur: in utroque genere prolepsis et subjectio: in fictione prosopopoeia et apophasis: in abruptione digressio, aversio, reticentia, correctio: in amplificatione exclamatio, sustentatio, licentia” (éd. citée, p. 216). Division en quatre genres qu'image très bien la *Rhetorica* de 1549, p. 20: “in petitione aut responsione”; “in fictione”; “in abruptione”; “in amplificatione”.

<sup>256</sup> Éd. citée, p. 96.

<sup>257</sup> Nous nous inspirons pour ce tableau de celui de Kees Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et poétique* ..., p. 208.

répartit à l'intérieur des deux divisions de base. Citons: "Sine colloctione est Exclamatio, Epanorthosis [correctio], Aposiopesis [reticentia], Apostrophe, aut Prosopopeia [...] Cum colloctione vero quae sit in interrogatione et responsione, est Addubitatio, Communicatio, Prolepsis, Permissio, aut Concessio"<sup>258</sup>. Toutefois, dans l'épitomé comme dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567, le nombre de figures de pensée est réduit à dix. Mignault, dans son commentaire, explique ainsi cette décision: "[...] tamen decem tantum necessariae ad bene dicendum numerantur, Exclamatio, Correctio, Reticentia, Apostrophe, Personae fictio, Addubitatio, Communicatio, Occupatio, Permissio, Concessio: Licentia, Optatio, Deprecatio ad Exclamationem revocantur: Digressio et Suspendentio tanquam alienae rejiciuntur"<sup>259</sup>.

La *Rhetorica* de 1567, aussi bien que toutes les rhétoriques qui en sont issues, commence l'étude des figures par l'*exclamatio*. Le compendium n'y manquera pas. Il la définira, ou plutôt la décrira d'une façon générale ("Exclamatio, fit per adverbium exclamandi"<sup>260</sup>), avant d'énumérer toutes les modulations qu'elle peut exprimer: "Hic saepe est optatio [...] Obtestatio [...] Imprecatio [...] Epiphonema [...] et Licentia"<sup>261</sup>. C'était suivre assez fidèlement le texte de 1567; mais pas tout à fait. Car si Ramus, dans celui-ci, regroupe toutes ces figures sous l'exclamation (sorte de figure cadre), il en fait également et curieusement le siège de certaines émotions: "Exclamatio, est figura [...] per adverbium exclamandi expressum vel intellectum, magnum prorsus animi commovendi instrumentum, et quidem affectuum variorum: modo admirationis [...], modo desperationis [...], modo optationis [...], modo indignationis [...]. Pro, adhibetur saepe ad obtestationem [...]. Aliquando exclamatio, est imprecationis vel execrationis [...] Epiphonema [...] Licentia"<sup>262</sup>. Donc, à l'*obtestatio* et à l'*epiphonema*<sup>263</sup>, qui étaient toujours considérés par les Ramistes comme des variantes de l'exclamation, s'ajoutent désormais *optatio*, *imprecatio* et *licentia*, pour ne nous en tenir qu'aux figures.

<sup>258</sup> F. 4v° et 5r°.

<sup>259</sup> A. *Talaei rhetorica*.... (Paris 1577), f. 38 r°.

<sup>260</sup> F. 4v°.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>262</sup> PP. 72-74.

<sup>263</sup> La définition de cette figure et l'exemple qui vient l'illustrer ont toujours été constants: "Epiphonema quoque, species est exclamationis, quae ad finem rei narratae et explicatae addi solet" (*Rhetorica* (1567), p. 76). Cette définition d'ailleurs ainsi que l'exemple tiré de Virgile (*Énéide*, I, 33) viennent de Quintilien, VIII, 5, 11.

Le remaniement de 1567 fait perdre à l'*optatio* sa définition<sup>264</sup> et seul un exemple des rhétoriques antérieures passe dans la nouvelle version qui ne contient d'ailleurs que deux exemples comparativement aux nombreux exemples de cette figure dans les textes d'avant 1567. Elle entraînera avec elle une figure qui l'accompagnait toujours, l'*imprecatio*, qui perd également, dans ce changement, sa définition<sup>265</sup>. D'avantage, dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567, cette figure sera associée à l'*execratio*<sup>266</sup>, qui, elle, dans les rhétoriques antérieures avait toujours été étudiée comme une variante de l'*exclamatio*<sup>267</sup>, même si l'on reconnaissait, selon l'expression de Fouquelin<sup>268</sup>, "qu'elle soit mêlée avec optation".

La *licentia*, dans l'ancienne division, faisait déjà partie, avec l'exclamation du quatrième genre, l'amplification, et était ainsi définie: "Licentia, παρρησία, prae se fert audaciam dicendi quod periculosum dictu videbatur"<sup>269</sup>. Dans la *Rhetorica* de 1567, il est dit tout simplement: "Licentia etiam, quae Graecis παρρησία dicitur, exclamatio quaedam videtur"<sup>270</sup>. Suit alors un long exemple tiré du *Pro Sylla*, que Ramus fait suivre de l'opinion de Quintilien sur cette figure: "Sed Quintilianus hic nullam figuram putat, nisi quatenus sub hac libertate, quaedam lateat adulatio"<sup>271</sup>.

Cette opinion, non seulement Ramus ne la critique-t-il pas, mais il continue de citer Quintilien en reprenant (ce qui lui tient lieu d'argumentation) et l'exemple du *Pro Ligario* et le commentaire de celui-ci sur cet exemple: "In hac licentia (ait Quintilianus) orator non solum ad utilitatem Ligarii respexit, sed magis laudare victoris clementiam non potuit". Ramus fait ensuite le lien avec l'exclamation, dans une conclusion, pour le moins abrupte, qui clôt le passage consacré à cette figure: "Quamobrem exclamatio una magnas prorsus vires habet".

Ce "Quamobrem" et la présence de Quintilien ne sont pas innocents. Car si celui-ci ne reconnaît à la *licentia* le statut de figure que s'il s'y

<sup>264</sup> "Optatio versatur in petitione, quia voti cujusdam significationem dat" (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 21; *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 89-90).

<sup>265</sup> "Huc pertinet Imprecatio, cum malum aliquod alteri optamus" (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 21; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 90).

<sup>266</sup> "Aliquando exclamatio, est imprecationis vel execrationis" (*Rhetorica* (1567), p. 75).

<sup>267</sup> "Execratio simile aliquid habet exclamationis, et huic admodum finitima est..." (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 41; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 130).

<sup>268</sup> *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 107.

<sup>269</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 43; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 135.

<sup>270</sup> P. 76.

<sup>271</sup> P. 78. Les passages de Quintilien empruntés par Ramus viennent de IX, 2, 28.

cache une certaine forme de simulation, de même exigeait-il de l'*exclamatio* qu'elle soit également simulée et faite par souci d'art<sup>272</sup>. Toutes deux d'ailleurs, *exclamatio* et *licentia*, parce qu'elles "consistent surtout dans la simulation"<sup>273</sup>, sont apparentées<sup>274</sup> et peuvent donc être rangées parmi celles "quae vero sunt augendis adfectibus accommodatae"<sup>275</sup>.

La dernière remarque de Ramus ("Quamobrem exclamatio una magnas prorsus vires habet"<sup>276</sup>) donc, qui n'est que la reprise d'une assertion qui ouvrirait l'argumentation sur l'*exclamatio*<sup>277</sup>, ne s'explique que par cet intertexte, qui éclaire également, du moins en partie, l'insistance de Ramus à faire de l'*exclamatio* une figure particulièrement efficace à traduire les émotions.

Pour la *correctio* et la *reticentia*, l'épitomé suit la *Rhetorica* de 1567, définissant la première "antecedens revocatur" et la seconde, "[...] qua sententiae inchoatae cursus ita revocatur, ut inde pars ejus aliqua non dicta intelligatur"<sup>278</sup>. L'on sait, de plus, que Quintilien ne mettait la *correctio* dans aucune de ses listes<sup>279</sup> alors que Cicéron, s'il l'acceptait, dans le *De Oratore*, à la fois comme figure de mots et comme figure de pensée, ne la considérait que comme une figure de mots dans l'*Orator*<sup>280</sup>. Quant à la *reticentia*, Yon dit de cette figure qu'elle est "parallèle à la prétérition figure de mots, dont elle est souvent difficile à distinguer"<sup>281</sup>. Et Causeret, fidèle en cela au *De Oratore*, en fait deux figures, l'une qu'il range dans les figures de pensée, l'autre dans les figures de mots<sup>282</sup>.

Dans l'épitomé, l'apostrophe est définie de la façon suivante: "Apostrophe seu Aversio, est cum oratio ad alienam personam aut rem convertitur, quam instituta oratio requirat"<sup>283</sup>. Ce texte est identique à la rhétorique de 1567, sauf que celle-ci, dans sa définition, ne retient pas

<sup>272</sup> IX, 2, 27. Nous adaptons la traduction de Jean Cousin, éd. citée, tome V, p. 177.

<sup>273</sup> IX, 2, 26. Ici nous empruntons la traduction de Jean Cousin, *ibid.*

<sup>274</sup> IX, 2, 27.

<sup>275</sup> Éd. citée, IX, 2, 26 et Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, p. CVI note de la Fig. 30.

<sup>276</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 79.

<sup>277</sup> "[...]magnum prorsus animi commovendi instrumentum"(*Rhetorica* (1567), p. 73).

<sup>278</sup> F. 4v° et 5 r°.

<sup>279</sup> Voir Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, p. XCII, note Fig. 15.

<sup>280</sup> Albert Yon, *ibid.* et p. CXI, 45 d; Causeret, *Étude sur la langue de la rhétorique* (Paris 1886), p. 186 # 19 et p. 196, # 29.

<sup>281</sup> Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, p. CV, note Fig. 28.

<sup>282</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 189, # 32 et p. 197, # 32.

<sup>283</sup> F. 5 r°.

les mots “aut rem”, pas plus d’ailleurs que les rhétoriques latines antérieures<sup>284</sup>. Toutefois, le mot *rem* revient, dans toutes les rhétoriques et dans un texte pratiquement identique, pour expliquer de quelle façon peut se faire ce détournement de propos. Nous citons l’édition de 1567: “Sed apostrophe ex conditione personarum varie distingui potest: alias enim ad humanam personam fit aversio [...]. Alias ab hominibus ad deos fit aversio [...]. Alias ad rem mutam et inanimatam, velut ad personam, transfertur oratio”<sup>285</sup>.

La dernière figure *in logismo* est ainsi définie par l’épitomé: “Prosopoeia seu fictio personae, est cum alienam personam oratione nostra veluti loquentem fingimus”<sup>286</sup>. Pour les Ramistes, comme pour les rhéteurs antiques, “c’est une figure à grand effet”<sup>287</sup> que Cicéron exclut du style attique<sup>288</sup> et qu’il faut donc manier avec prudence. Dans les rhétoriques antérieures à celle de 1567<sup>289</sup>, une section spéciale, intitulée “Vitium Prosopopoeiae”, dans laquelle l’on rappelait la nécessité de représenter “la personne par voix et parole decencie et convenante” et d’éviter, suprême vice, que “la parole repugne à la nature de la personne feinte et representee”<sup>290</sup>, clôturait l’argumentation sur la prosopopée. Avec, comme argument d’autorité, la citation suivante d’Horace, tirée de l’*Art poétique*<sup>291</sup>: “Intererit multum...” En 1567, Ramus, dès le début de son exposé, insistera sur l’importance de la figure et sur la nécessité, le même passage d’Horace à l’appui, de bien associer discours et personne que l’on fait parler<sup>292</sup>.

La prosopopée fut toujours divisée, dans toutes les rhétoriques en “imperfecta vel perfecta”. Ainsi en 1567: “Prosopopoeia imperfecta [ou “obliqua”] est, cum sermo alienae personae leviter et oblique repraesentatur”<sup>293</sup>. Les rhétoriques antérieures étaient plus claires lorsqu’elles

<sup>284</sup> “[...] cum oratio a persona detorquetur ad aliam personam” (*Rhetorica* (1549), p. 37).

<sup>285</sup> PP. 82, 84 et 86.

<sup>286</sup> F. 5 r°. Texte pratiquement identique à celui de la *Rhetorica* de 1567.

<sup>287</sup> Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, p. CIII, note Fig.20.

<sup>288</sup> *Orator*, 85.

<sup>289</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), pp. 31-32; *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 93; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 113.

<sup>290</sup> Fouquelin, *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 93.

<sup>291</sup> V. 114-118. Fouquelin utilisera la traduction de Pelletier.

<sup>292</sup> “Hic vero ornamentum elocutionis singulare est, magnaeque in primis audaciae: ideoque magno consilio iudicioque regendum, ut consentanea personis oratio tribuatur”(p. 87).

<sup>293</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), pp. 88-89.

ajoutaient: “[...] ut si quis quidpiam commemoret, quod vel a se, vel ab alio dictum fuerit”<sup>294</sup>. En somme l’on ne met pas en scène la *personne* qui parle, mais l’on rapporte ses propos. Il y a donc une sorte d’imitation et voilà pourquoi la *Rhetorica* de 1548 signalait qu’elle pouvait prendre la forme de l’ἡθοποιία (“cum aliena dicta imitando repraesentamus”<sup>295</sup>), cette figure ne pouvant jamais, par ailleurs, être séparée de la prosopopée comme le fait Quintilien<sup>296</sup>.

Par contre “prosopopoeia perfecta [ou ‘plena’] est, cum tota fictio personae, oratione nostra repraesentatur”<sup>297</sup>. C’est donc la grande mise en scène et toutes les rhétoriques insistent, pour celle-ci, sur la nécessité de savoir entrer en prosopopée et de savoir en sortir. Ainsi Ramus écrivait-il en 1567: “[...] quo in genere et accessus ad prosopopoeiam, et recessus decorus in primis esse debet”<sup>298</sup>. Le texte des rhétoriques antérieures sera, nous semble-t-il, encore plus explicite: “[...] soleant Oratores in principio et fine decoram quandam speciem adhibere, ne et temere personam alienam suscipere, et susceptam leviter abjicere videantur”<sup>299</sup>.

Dans les années 1548-1549, le genre *in fictione* dans lequel est placée la prosopopée, *fictio personae*, comprend également une *fictio rei*, désignée alors par le terme ἀπόφασις ou *praetermissio*<sup>300</sup> et que la *Rhetorica* de 1549 définit ainsi: “Fictio in rebus posita Graece παράληψις vel ἀπόφασις est, Latine Praetermissio, cum dicimus id quod fingimus nos praetermittere velle, et nolle dicere”<sup>301</sup>. Cette définition n’a rien à voir avec la prosopopée, comme l’a bien démontré Leake<sup>302</sup>,

<sup>294</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 31; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 112. Fouquelin traduit ainsi ce passage: “[...] comme si quelqu’un raconte ce que ou luy, ou un autre a dit” (*Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 92).

<sup>295</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 31. Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 112.

<sup>296</sup> “Contra ἡθοποιάν separat a prosopopoeia Quintilianus. At separari nullo modo potest” (*Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 217). Même texte dans les *Scholae rhetoricae*, col. 380, 8-10. Cicéron, aussi bien dans l’*Orator* que dans le *De Oratore*, en fait deux figures distinctes; voir Albert Yon, *op. cit.*, pp. CII-CIII et Causeret *op. cit.*, p. 187, #23-24.

<sup>297</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 89.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 89.

<sup>299</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 28; *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 86; *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 105.

<sup>300</sup> “[...] cum fingeretur aut persona ut Prosopopoeia, aut res, ut ἀπόφασις” (*Brutinae Quaestiones* (1549), p. 96). Voir aussi *Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 216 et *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 27.

<sup>301</sup> P. 32.

<sup>302</sup> Roy E. Leake Jr., *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

et il n'est guère étonnant que, dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557, la *praeteritio*, à laquelle l'on refuse désormais le statut de figure de pensée, soit placée sous l'ironie<sup>303</sup>. Il faudra attendre la *Rhetorica* de 1567 pour voir apparaître une définition de la *fictio rei* qui soit fidèle à la notion de prosopopée: "Eadem figura [prosopopoeia], licet mutis et inanimatis rebus sermonem dare"<sup>304</sup>.

Reste un problème, celui du *dialogismus*. Jusqu'en 1567 exclusivement, les Ramistes divisaient la *prosopopoeia perfecta* en *continens* et *concisum*. La première étant décrite de la façon suivante: "[...] constat perpetua, et non interrupta continuatione sermonis", la deuxième étant "dialogismus [...] id est ficta personarum collocutio"<sup>305</sup>. Par suite de la nouvelle division adoptée en 1567 en *sine collocutione* et *cum collocutione*, Ramus était obligé de revoir le statut du *dialogismus*, figure dont la *collocutio* est la base même.

La solution qu'il trouve, limiter cette figure à la *prolepsis*, avait déjà été évoquée, puis rejetée dans les *rhetoricae* de 1548 et de 1557: "[...] quamvis enim Dialogismus frequenter incidat in Prolepsim, sub hoc tamen fictionis genere [prosopopoeia], de quo nunc agitur, potius comprehendi debet, quia Dialogismus aliquando sine interrogatione et responsione fieri possit"<sup>306</sup>. La *prolepsis* en effet est une figure qui "gît en demande et réponce"<sup>307</sup>. Tous les textes ramistes l'affirment avec force, depuis les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*<sup>308</sup> jusqu'à l'építome et la *Rhetorica* de 1567: "[...] dialogismus occupationis sequitur, cum alieni consilii interrogationem occupamus, eique responsione subijcimus"<sup>309</sup>. Les verbes cités (*occupamus* et *subijcimus*) montrent les deux aspects de la figure comme l'explique la suite du texte de 1567: "Ideoque dialogismus hic a priore parte, occupatio a posteriore, subjectio dicitur"<sup>310</sup>.

Victime donc du carcan qu'il s'était imposé, Ramus fait fi de l'objection, pourtant sérieuse, des rhétoriques antérieures et introduit cette forme de prosopopée sous la *prolepsis*: "Occupatio [prolepsis] fere prosopopoeiam conjunctam habet: ideoque alias obliqua, alias perfecta

<sup>303</sup> Roy E. Leake Jr., *op. cit.*, p. 107. Voir *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 20: "Unde constat παράληψιν seu ἀπόφασιν ironiae quandam speciem esse, non figuram Διανοίας".

<sup>304</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 94.

<sup>305</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), pp. 28 et 30; *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 105 et 110.

<sup>306</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 30. Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 110.

<sup>307</sup> Fouquelin, *Rhetorique françoise* (1555), p. 84.

<sup>308</sup> "[...] in omni prolepsi est interrogatio quaedam et interrogationis responsio" (p. 216). Texte maintenu dans les *Scholae rhetoricae*, col. 379, 10-12.

<sup>309</sup> P. 103.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*



est”<sup>311</sup>. La *prolepsis* adopte donc les mêmes subdivisions que la *prosopée* et devient, pour ainsi dire, la variante dialoguée de celle-ci. “Occupatio plena est, quae plenam prosopoeiam habet [...] dissimilis occupatio obliqua est. Occupamus aliquando isto genere cogitationem nostram, et objicimus adversario, ipsumque respondentem contra fingimus”<sup>312</sup>. Par cette nouvelle organisation, non seulement Ramus a-t-il restreint le *dialogismus* à la *prolepsis*, mais de plus il a limité la *prolepsis* à la seule *prosopée*, même s’il reconnaît encore qu’elle peut renfermer l’idée d’objection que l’on prévient.

La *prolepsis*, dans le grand groupe *cum collocutione*, fait pour ainsi dire la transition entre les figures qui sont exclusivement *in responsione* (*permissio* et *concessio*) et celles qui sont *in interrogatione* (*addubitatio* et *communicatio*), répartition déjà établie, pour l’essentiel, dès les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*<sup>313</sup>. La nouvelle division de 1567 qui regroupe ces deux figures sous la *deliberatio* renforce le caractère dichotomique de la répartition, permet d’uniformiser les définitions de chacune des figures<sup>314</sup>, mais n’apporte pas nécessairement plus de clarté. Les définitions antérieures<sup>315</sup> nous semblaient beaucoup plus descriptives, même si Ramus en a regroupé, dans la définition qu’il donne de la *deliberatio*, les éléments essentiels: “Deliberatio est, cum varias tanquam consultationis rationes subinde interrogamus, quo in genere subjecto, suspensis diutius audientium animis, aliquando inexpectatum quidpiam majus aut minus expectatione statuit”<sup>316</sup>.

Il en va de même pour la *permissio* et la *concessio*. Elles étaient déjà regroupées sous la *responsio* dans les textes antérieurs<sup>317</sup> et la nouvelle version, même si elle renforce l’homogénéité des définitions<sup>318</sup>, perd en

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>312</sup> PP. 104 et 106.

<sup>313</sup> “Addubitando enim et communicando quaerimus utique aliquid, et rogamus” (p. 217). Texte maintenu d’ailleurs dans les *Scholae rhetoricae* de 1569, col. 379, 22.

<sup>314</sup> “Addubitatio, est cum nobiscum deliberamus [...] Communicatio, est quando cum aliis deliberamus” (*Rhetoricae praeceptiones*, f. 5 r°). La *Rhetorica* de 1567 donne un texte pratiquement semblable, p. 97 et p. 99.

<sup>315</sup> “Addubitatio [...], quae prae se fert solliciti hominis, et interrogantis affectum” [...] “Communicatio [...] est cum aliis quaedam consultatio et deliberatio, quae discrepat a superiore, quia illic apud nosmetipsos dubitamus, et quasi nobiscum agimus: hic vero cum aliis rationem inimus” (*Rhetorica* (1549), pp. 23 et 24). Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 94 et pp. 96-97.

<sup>316</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 97.

<sup>317</sup> “[...] respondendo permittimus et concedimus” (*Rhetoricae distinctiones* (1549), p. 217 et *Scholae rhetoricae*, col. 379, 26). Voir tableau plus haut.

<sup>318</sup> “Permissio est, cum facti cujuspian licentia condonatur [...] Concessio est, cum

clarté, ce qu'elle gagne en concision. Ainsi lorsque Ramus rappelle que cette figure est souvent teintée d'ironie, il écrit tout simplement: "Aliquando ironia permiscetur [...] Ironia in sequenti exemplo apertior est"<sup>319</sup>. Les rhétoriques antérieures étaient bien plus explicites: "In hoc genere saepe ornatus ex Ironia petitur, quia contrarium ejus quod permittimus, intelligi et fieri volumus"<sup>320</sup>. L'exemple même tiré de Virgile<sup>321</sup> y est commenté de la façon suivante: "Non enim cupiebat [Dido] AEneam discedere, sed hac Ironica permissione potius retinere sperabat"<sup>322</sup>, alors qu'en 1567, Ramus ne dit rien. Il en va de même pour la définition de la *concessio* qui avait le mérite d'établir plus explicitement le lien et la différence avec la *permissio*: "Concessio videtur esse propositae rei approbatio, ut quemadmodum Permissio est in factis, sic Concessio in dictis et argumentis, cum aliquid damus, quod alius sibi concedi postulat"<sup>323</sup>.

Par contre la *Rhetorica* de 1567 se montrera plus explicite sur la nécessité de la conjonction des tropes et des figures pour donner à un discours toute son ornementation: "Atque haec de ornamentis elocutionis: quae quo plura concurrerint, eo plenior ornatum orationis efficiant, necesse est"<sup>324</sup>. Affirmation appuyée sur un passage du *Pro Ligario* de Cicéron que Ramus commente non seulement en y relevant les principaux tropes et figures, mais aussi en montrant quelle force apporte au discours leur conjonction.

Seront également plus explicites les textes des dernières rhétoriques sur la force des figures de pensée, force qui sera affirmée, non pas à la fin de l'exposé comme c'était l'habitude dans les autres rhétoriques, mais au tout début, après la définition de la figure de pensée. Nous citons le compendium: "Et quemadmodum superior illa troporum, et in verbis figurarum elocutio ad docendum et delectandum multum valet: sic etiam (quod in dicendo caput est) haec ad movendum et pervincen-

dictum aliquod aut argumentum condonatur" (*Rhetorica* (1567), pp. 107 et 108). L'épitomé (f. 5r<sup>a</sup>-5v<sup>a</sup>) donne le même texte, sauf la variante "condonamus" pour "condonatur" dans la définition de la *concessio*.

<sup>319</sup> *Rhetorica* (1567), p. 108.

<sup>320</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 25.

<sup>321</sup> "I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas" (*Énéide*, IV, 381). Cet exemple se trouvait déjà dans Quintilien, sous l'ironie (IX, 2, 48) et dans Rufinianus (*Rhetores latini minores*, p. 45,15) pour illustrer l'ἐπιτροπή qu'il définit ainsi: "Haec fit, cum figurate concedimus, quod velit quis faciat".

<sup>322</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 25.

<sup>323</sup> *Ibid.* Voir aussi *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 100.

<sup>324</sup> P. 110.

dum plurimum potest: ut illic color et sanguis orationis, hic nervi torique esse videantur”<sup>325</sup>. Ce texte, tiré en toutes lettres de la *Rhetorica* de 1567<sup>326</sup>, condense une longue démonstration sur la force des figures de pensée où Ramus utilise comme arguments, non seulement l'exemple de Cicéron, mais aussi celui de Démosthène, vu à travers le témoignage de Cicéron dans le *Brutus*<sup>327</sup> et l'*Orator*<sup>328</sup>.

Cette position de Ramus marque une évolution par rapport aux textes antérieurs. La *Rhetorica* de 1548 ne faisait que rappeler l'importance des figures de pensée: “Hactenus in quatuor generibus ornamenta sententiarum exposita sunt: quae cum venustatis multum habent, tum gravitatis et dignitatis plurimum”<sup>329</sup>, alors que la *Rhetorica* de 1557 établissait en plus une comparaison avec les figures de mots: “Si vero figurae sententiarum cum figuris verborum conferantur, dignitatem illic esse dixeris, hic leporem: Superiores illae nervorum et virium plus habent, hae sanguinis et coloris”<sup>330</sup>. Cette dernière phrase n'était pratiquement, comme il arrive souvent dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557<sup>331</sup>, que la traduction d'un ajout qui apparaissait déjà dans la *Rhetorique* de Fouquelin<sup>332</sup>: “Mais si les figures de la sentence sont conferees avec celles de la diction, en celles la, vous direz estre je ne scay quelle gravité et dignité, en cêtes cy, une beauté et fart: Celles là ont plus de nerfz et de force: cêtes cy, plus de sang et de couleur”. La dernière rhétorique rangera les tropes au côté des figures de mots dans cette comparaison avec les figures de pensée.

Modification, ajustement, remise en question: tel est l'incessant travail des Ramistes; tous les commentateurs le signalent<sup>333</sup>. Voilà pourquoi il était important, pour comprendre correctement l'épitomé rhétorique, non seulement de démontrer qu'il était issu de la dernière

<sup>325</sup> F. 4 v°.

<sup>326</sup> Le texte de la *Rhetorica* se présente toutefois comme ceci. Immédiatement après la définition de la figure de pensée, on lit: “Virilem autem quandam dignitatem, prae superiorum molli et delicata venustata obtinet: ut illic color et sanguis orationis, hic nervi torique esse videantur”. Et à la fin de la démonstration, on lit: “Denique ut superior illa et troporum, et in verbis figurarum elocutio, ad docendum et delectandum, multum valeat: haec etiam (quod in dicendo caput est) ad movendum et pervincendum, plurimum valebit” (pp. 70 et 72).

<sup>327</sup> 141.

<sup>328</sup> 136.

<sup>329</sup> *Rhetorica* (1549), p. 44.

<sup>330</sup> *Rhetorica* (1562), pp. 137-138.

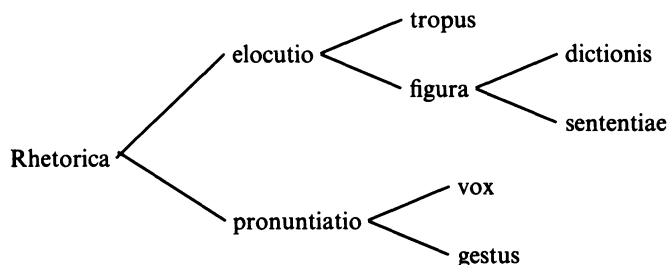
<sup>331</sup> Roy E. Leake Jr., p. 107 et Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 274.

<sup>332</sup> P. 112.

<sup>333</sup> Kees Meerhoff, Nelly Bruyère et C. Vasoli, pour n'en citer que quelques-uns.

rhétorique, mais aussi qu'il était, vu sa filiation, l'aboutissement d'un long cheminement. Une simple comparaison donc entre l'épitomé et la *Rhetorica* de 1567 serait vite devenue terne et monotone et sans intérêt réel pour la compréhension du texte. Il fallait donc retracer la genèse des lignes de force qui parcourent le compendium et les replacer dans le contexte de la dernière rhétorique d'où elles avaient été tirées.

Car la *Rhetorica* de 1567, outre le fait qu'elle ait été réécrite par Ramus seul<sup>334</sup>, a ceci de particulier qu'elle accentue l'effort d'ordonnance, de clarté et de dichotomisation qui s'était déjà manifesté dès les premiers textes et particulièrement amplifié dans la *Rhetorique* de Fouquelin et dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557<sup>335</sup>, même si elle garde le schéma qui est à la base de toutes les rhétoriques ramistes :



On y retrouve les quatre mêmes tropes des débuts (métonymie, ironie, métaphore, synecdoque), dont les rapports avec la dialectique que Ramus avait établis, dès les *Rhetoricae distinctiones*, pour justifier leur choix, seront encore plus nettement définis. De plus, la relation entre ces tropes et la catachrèse, l'hyperbole et l'allégorie sera clarifiée. Car, même si ces dernières ont toujours été considérées comme des colorations particulières des tropes, la doctrine était hésitante avant 1567. Elles étaient alors présentées comme des variantes, souvent de la métaphore, parfois des autres tropes. La *Rhetorica* de 1567 et les suivantes ainsi que l'épitomé, par le fait même, établissent clairement, que ces trois tropes peuvent prendre l'habit des quatre tropes et non de la métaphore seule.

Pour les figures de diction, l'effort de dichotomisation s'était déjà fait sentir dans la *Rhetorique* de Fouquelin, 1555, et dans la *Rhetorica* de 1557. Alors qu'avant 1555, la division était tripartite (*in repetitione*, *in*

<sup>334</sup> Voir Nancel, *Petri Rami vita*, éd. citée, p. 219.

<sup>335</sup> L'édition de 1572 (Paris, Wechel), commencera à atténuer cette ferveur dichotomique, même si, pour l'essentiel, elle suit fidèlement le texte de 1567.

*commutatione* et *in numero* ), après cette date, la division et les sous-divisions sont nettement dichotomiques<sup>336</sup>: *ex pedum collocatione* (*in carmine* ; *in prosa* ) et *ex iteratione similium vocum* (*certus ordo similium vocum* , *non item* ). La *Rhetorica* de 1567 gardera ces divisions fondamentales, mais renforcera la dichotomisation jusque dans les sous-sous-divisions, comme peut en convaincre l'extrait de la *tabula* de Mignault en annexe. Pour les figures de pensée par contre, ce texte apportera une toute nouvelle répartition, parfaitement dichotomisée jusque dans les plus petites subdivisions<sup>337</sup>. Réorganisation qui obligera à une distribution différente des figures, à une fusion ou au rejet de certaines d'entre elles.

Ces quelques exemples illustrent bien cet acharnement à hiérarchiser le système, acharnement présent dès les premiers textes théoriques, mais qui s'accentuera au fil des rhétoriques pour atteindre son point culminant dans les éditions de 1567 et de 1569. Il serait enfantin d'y voir une volonté malade de dichotomiser pour le plaisir de la chose. Ramus veut tout simplement mettre de l'ordre dans un domaine, la rhétorique, où la confusion semble être la loi du genre et dont il s'est souvent plaint à propos de Quintilien et de Cicéron<sup>338</sup>. Ce souci ne produit pas toujours des résultats heureux, mais ce qui semble compter, pour les Ramistes, c'est l'efficacité de la communication pédagogique.

En ce sens, l'épitomé a l'avantage, mais aussi l'inconvénient qu'il ne faut pas nier<sup>339</sup>, de donner la trame squelettique de la démonstration et donc de mettre en évidence, comme dans un résumé, les éléments charnières du texte. Et non seulement pour la rhétorique. Car en donnant dans un même fascicule une rhétorique, une dialectique et l'exemple de la *conjonction* des deux arts dans l'étude d'un discours de Cicéron, l'auteur anonyme, proche ou non de Ramus, a produit un texte qui constitue l'essence même du combat de celui-ci pour une pédagogie nouvelle. Toute sa vie en effet, Ramus a lutté pour que se réalise cette *conjunctio* de la philosophie et de la rhétorique aussi bien dans l'enseignement que dans l'étude des textes. Que cet épitomé ait été publié l'année même de sa mort, évidemment pour des écoliers, constitue la plus belle épitaphe qu'il soit à sa mémoire!

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<sup>336</sup> Kees Meerhoff, *op. cit.*, p. 275 et *Rhetorica* (1562), p. 49 et pp. 66-67.

<sup>337</sup> Les tableaux comparatifs dans le corps du texte sont d'une clarté à toute épreuve.

<sup>338</sup> Le théoricien, bien sûr; il a la plus haute estime pour l'orateur.

<sup>339</sup> Comme cet épitomé est destiné à des élèves, certaines notions ont été gommées, autre inconvénient.

## ANNEXE 1

[f. 2r°] Rhetoricae praeceptiones singulari artificii laude descriptae, et luculentis exemplis illustratae.

Quid Rhetorica, et quot ejus partes, Caput I.

Rhetorica, est ars bene dicendi: eodemque sensu et Latine eloquentia, et ars oratoria dicta est.

Rhetoricae quinque solent assignari partes, Inventio, Dispositio, Memoria, Elocutio, et Pronuntiatio: quarum tamen duae posteriores, sed ordine docendi priores, cum sint naturali usui sermonis, seu orationis ac linguae accommodatae, proprie Rhetoricae sunt: duae vero priores solae, cum sint humanae mentis ac rationis, vere Dialecticae. Memoria enim tota dispositionis est, cum ejus nullum sit majus subsidium quam methodi ratio.

De Elocutione, ac primum de Tropis, Caput 2.

Elocutio, est orationis exornatio: estque Tropus, aut Figura.

Tropus, est elocutio qua verbum a nativa significatione in aliam immutatur: qui si durior vel inaequalior fuerit Catachrisis seu Abusio dicitur, quae praeposito verbo molliri [f. 2v°] potest: si vero audax Hyperbole seu Superlatio appellatur. Sed Troporum continuatio et conjunctio, quae Allegoria seu Inversio nominatur, magnum ornatum adfert orationi, si quo ex genere rerum coeperis, eodem desinas: secus inconsequentia foedissima fuerit.

Tropus, est Metonymia, Ironia, Metaphora, aut Synecdoche. Omnis enim propriae significationis in verbo mutatio est horum tantum quatuor generum: Metonymiae quidem ex causis ad effecta, et subjectis ad adjuncta: Ironiae ex dissentaneis ad dissentanea: Metaphorae ex similibus ad similia: Synecdoches ex toto ad partes, et contra.

Metonymia, est tropus consentanei ad consentaneum, ut causae ad effectum, subjecti ad adjunctum: vel contra.

Causae, est efficientis, aut materiae. Efficientis, cum inventor et author pro ipsis effectis rebus usurpantur: ut, Bacchus et Ceres, pro vino et frugibus: Cicero pro ejus operibus.

Materiae, cum ipsa pro suo effecto ponitur: ut, ferrum pro ense, aurum pro nummis aureis.

Metonymia effecti, est cum pro causa effectum ponitur: ut, senectus difficilis et morosa, pro, efficiens homines difficiles et morosos.

Subjecti, est cum pro adjuncto subjectum ponitur: ut, cum ponitur continens pro re contenta, locus pro incolis, et locatis rebus, possessor pro re possessa, ut civitas pro civibus, Crassus pro ipsius bonis.

Adjuncti, est cum pro subjecto adjunctum ponitur: ut, si virtutes pro bonis viris, vitia pro malis, multaeque aliae res pro personis usurpantur.

[3r°]Ironia, est tropus a dissentaneo ad dissentaneum, jocandi in primis causa: ut, o praeclarum facinus. Percipitur autem vel rei, vel pronuntiationis,

vel utriusque dissensione. Si enim altera, vel utraque dissentit a verbis, apparet voci mentem esse contrariam.

Metaphora, est tropus cum ex simili simile significatur: ut, florere et latrare in homine, ab arboribus, et canibus: extinguere lumen clarissimum Reipublicae id est praestantissimum civem interficere. Nihil est autem in rerum natura, unde simile duci non possit: ideoque et metaphora.

Synecdoche, est tropus cum ex parte totum, et contra significatur: ut, cum membrum pro integro, species pro genere, finitus numerus pro magno, singularis pro plurali, et contra ponitur: ut, parricida pro interfectore, tectum pro domo.

### De Figura dictionis, Caput 3.

Haec de tropis. Figura, est elocutio, qua orationis habitus a recta et simplici consuetudine mutatur. Ut enim tropus est singularum dictionum, sic figura conjunctarum: utque dictionum alia est propria, alia modificata: sic orationum alia recta, alia figurata.

Figura aut est dictionis, aut sententiae. Figura dictionis, est orationis quidam sonus et numerus, ex apta et jucunda dictionum inter se resonantium similitudine: quae aut est in soni dimensione tum poetica, tum oratoria: aut ejusdem repetitione.

Poetica soni dimensio metrum est, quod certos pedes certis locis collocatos continet. Pes, est dimensio certis syllabarum temporibus definita: estque bissyllabus, aut trissylla- [3v] bus. Bissyllabus, aut est Spondeus e duabus syllabis longis, ut terris: aut Pyrrhichius ex totidem brevibus, ut Deus: aut Iambus ex brevi et longa, ut Deos: aut Choreus sive Trocheus ex longa et brevi, ut arma.

Trissyllabus, aut est Molossus ex tribus longis, ut virtutes: aut Tribrachus ex totidem brevibus, ut legere: aut Dactylus e longa et duabus brevibus, ut parcere: aut Anapestus e duabus brevibus et longa, ut repetunt. Ex quorum pedum dimensione Metrum componitur, in quo et vocalis, et m, si sit ultima, eliditur, si dictio sequens incipiat a vocali.

Metrum, aut est Bimetrum, aut Tetrametrum, aut Pentametrum, aut Hexametrum. Bimetrum, quale est Adonium constans dactylo, et spondeo: ut, Ocyor aura.

Tetrametrum, quale est Asclepiadeum e molosso, anapesto, et duobus dactylis: ut, Mecoenas atavis edite regibus.

Pentametrum, aut est Phaleucium ex spondeo, dactylo, et trocheis tribus: ut, Vitam quae faciunt beatorem: aut Saphicum ex trocheo, spondeo, dactylo, et trocheis duobus, cui ter repetito Adonium subjungitur: ut Jam satis terris nivis atque dirae, etc. aut Elegum duobus primis locis e dactylo vel spondeo, tertio spondeo cum anapestis duobus: ut Victurus genium debet habere liber.

Hexametrum, constat quatuor primis locis spondeo vel dactylo, quinto dactylo, sexto spondeo: ut, Discite justiciam moniti, et non temnere Divos. Pentametrum Elegum ab Hexametro nunquam separatur, licet hoc sine illo esse possit. Alia vero sunt multa pedum et versuum genera, quae ex poetis petenda sunt. [4r] Oratoria soni dimensio, est in observatione quadam pedum, poeticae, et sibi ipsi semper dissimilis, nec perpetua, nec ubique necessaria: in qua versus

fugiendus est, nisi autoritatis aut voluptatis gratia aliunde citetur: principium et exitum carminis, ne principium vel exitum hujus facito: numerum eundem in clausula ne continuato, sed varie dissimiliterque temperato.

Soni repetitio, aut est in simili dictione, aut dissimili. In simili est Epizeuxis, Anadiplosis, Climax, Anaphora, Epistrophe, Epanalepsis, aut Epanodos.

Epizeuxis, est quando sonus idem continue iteratur in eadem sententia: ut, dixi dixi, inquam: interdum parenthesi interposita.

Anadiplosis seu reduplicatio, est quando idem sonus continue repetitur in fine praecedentis, et principio sequentis sententiae: ut, pulchra virtus, virtus nobilis est.

Climax seu gradatio, est cum oratio tribus, aut pluribus gradibus ita progreditur, ut antecedens sequenti loco prius repetatur, quam proximum assumatur: ut, si virtus bona est, laudanda: si laudanda, sequenda.

Anaphora seu relatio, est quando sonus idem iteratur in principiis sententiarum: ut, nihil virtute melius, nihil gratius.

Epistrophe seu conversio, est cum similis sonus in clausulis iteratur: ut, prudentia est virtus, iusticia est virtus.

Epanalepsis seu resumptio, est quando idem sonus in principio, et clausula repetitur: ut, virtus est honesta, utilisque est virtus.

Epanodos seu regressio, est cum sonus in principio et [4v°] medio, vel in medio et fine iteratur: ut, gratiam qui refert, habet, et qui habet, in eo quod habet, refert.

In dissimili dictione aut est Paronomasia, aut Polypoton. Paronomasia seu adnominatio est cum dictiones significationibus diversae, syllaba tamen aliqua similes, sono inter se consonant: ut, corripere corrumpere.

Polypoton seu varietas casuum, est quando ejusdem originis conjugatae voces inter se consonant: ut hic honos, hujus gloriae, hoc decus.

#### De Figura sententiae, Cap. 4.

Sequitur figura sententiae, qua oratio ratione sententiae aliquo animi motu affectae figuratur. Et quemadmodum superior illa troporum, et in verbis figurarum elocutio ad docendum et delectandum multum valet: sic etiam (quod in dicendo caput est) haec ad movendum et pervincendum plurimum potest: ut illic color et sanguis orationis, hic nervi torique esse videantur.

Figura sententiae est sine collocutione, aut cum illa. Sine collocutione est Exclamatio, Epanorthosis, Aposiopesis, Apostrophe, aut Prosopopeia.

Exclamatio, fit per adverbium exclamandi: ut, ô singularem et eximiam virtutem! Hic saepe est optatio, ut utinam revivisceret Tullius: Obtestatio, ut, pro deum atque hominum fidem: Imprecatio, ut, dii te perdant: Epiphonema (quod ad finem rei narratae addi solet) ut, Tanta molis erat Romanam condere gentem: et Licentia, ut Quantum potero voce contendam, ut hoc populus Romanus exaudiat.

Epanorthosis seu correctio, est quando antecedens re- [5r°] vocatur: ut, Catilina hostis Ciceronis fuit: Ciceronis autem, imo vero universae Reipublicae.

Aposiopesis seu Reticentia, est qua sententiae inchoatae cursus ita revocatur,



ut inde pars ejus aliqua non dicta intelligatur: ut, Quos ego, sed motos praestat componere fluctus.

Apostrophe seu Aversio, est cum oratio ad alienam personam aut rem convertitur, quam instituta oratio requirat: ut, Caesar multa crudeliter et inique gessit in Rempubicam. Testem te appello Marce Tulli.

Prosopopoeia seu fictio personae, est cum alienam personam oratione nostra veluti loquentem fingimus: ut, Putate vobiscum ita loqui philosophiam: Quid agitis optimi adolescentes? an tandiu in istis tenebris ignorantiae versabimini?

Cum colloctione vero quae sit in interrogatione et responsione, est Addubitatio, Communicatio, Prolepsis, Permissio, aut Concessio.

Addubitatio, est cum nobiscum deliberamus: ut, Quo fato evenire dicam? unde ordiar? unde initium sumam?

Communicatio, est quando cum aliis deliberamus: ut, Quaero a vobis, quid est quod hac tanta de re vobis possit videri?

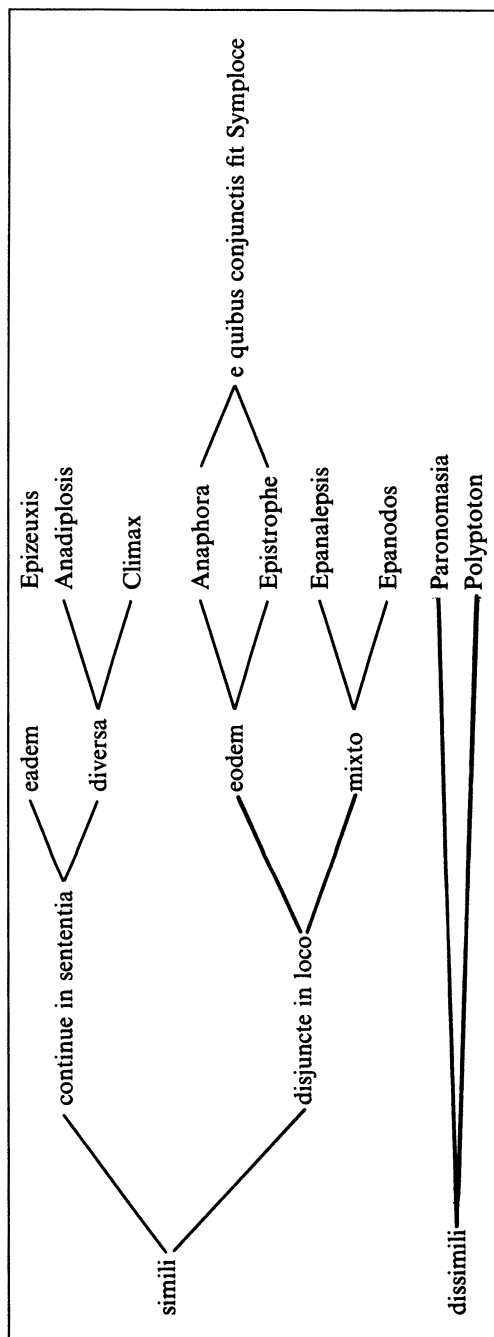
Prolepsis seu Occupatio, est cum alieni consilii interrogationem occupamus, eique responsionem subjicimus: ut dicet aliquis etc. Credo ego vos mirari etc.

Permissio, est cum facti cujuspiam licentia condonatur: ut, I, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.

Concessio, est cum dictum aliquod aut argumentum [5v°] condonamus: ut, Esto, sit ita, habes igitur quod petebas.

ANNEXE 2

*Figura Dictionis, quae spectatur in soni repetitione*



Tiré de la *tabula* de Mignault à la toute fin de *Audomari Talaai Rhetorica, una cum [...]* *commentationibus per Claudium Minoem* (Paris, 1577).

Christian COPPENS

PETRUS BACHERIUS' PRAISE  
OF LAURENTIUS VOSSAEUS AND VIGLIUS\*

Petrus Bacherius (1517-1601), the Ghent Dominican and inquisitor, born Peter de Backere, studied in Dillingen, matriculated at Louvain university on September 15, 1561 and got his doctorate in divinity seven years later. He was prior of the religious houses of his order in Ghent, Brussels, The Hague, Calcar and Louvain. Together with others he had to flee in 1573 from those against whose doctrine he had offered stout resistance. He went to Cambrai and after some wanderings — in 1580 he was in Rome — he reached Ghent again after it was reconquered by Farnese in 1584/85<sup>1</sup>.

His years at the university and in the Louvain convent undoubtedly gave him the opportunity to become acquainted with some scholars there. One of them obviously was Cornelius Gemma (1535-1578), son of Reinerus Gemma Frisius and himself mathematician and physician as well. He wrote a few works on philosophy, astronomy and medicine, but never attained to his father's reputation<sup>2</sup>. The most remarkable of his works certainly is *De naturae divinis characterismis*, an octavo

\* My thanks to prof. dr. J. IJsewijn and M.M. Nelissen for their help in transcribing the verses.

<sup>1</sup> August van der Meersch, "De Backere (Pierre) ou Bacherius", in *Biographie nationale*, 4 (Brussels 1873), cols. 741-744; Josephus Arts, *De Predikheeren te Gent 1228-1854* (Gent 1913), pp. 222-231; Fernand van Ortroy, *Biobibliographie de Gemma Frisius, fondateur de l'école belge de géographie, de son fils Corneille et de ses neveux les Arsenius* (Brussels 1920), p. 394; Stephanus Axters, "Bijdragen tot een bibliografie van de Nederlandsch dominikaansche vroomheid", *Ons geestelijk erf* (1933), 145-154; Johan Decavele, *De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)* (Brussels 1975), passim; Léon Voet, *The Plantin Press (1555-1589). A Bibliography of the Works Printed and Published by Christopher Plantin at Antwerp and Leiden*, 1 (Amsterdam 1980), pp. 241-244; see also *Humanistica Lovan*, 23 (1974), p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> Henry de Vocht, *History of the Foundation and the Rise of the Collegium Trilingue Lovaniense, 1517-1550*, 2 (Louvain 1953), p. 564; F.A. Sondervorst, *Geschiedenis van de geneeskunde in België* (Brussels 1981), p. 80, p. 82.

divided in two parts and dealing with monsters and astrological influences on man. The book was printed by Christopher Plantin in 1575 and illustrated with sixty-four woodcuts. They render pictorially a series of real and fantastic observations, or, as so often during the transition to scientific observation proper, in what appears to a modern reader a naive-looking mixture of both<sup>3</sup>. Cornelius Gemma dedicated a copy of this work to Petrus Bacherius. At the bottom of the title page he wrote: *Clariss[imo] M[agistro] N[ostro] Petro Bacherio S[pectabili] D[omino] Theologi[ae] doctori celeberrimo. C[ornelius] G[emma]*<sup>4</sup>. Bacherius himself gave it to a friend or a pupil. It could have been he himself who wrote on the title page and on the fly-leaf: *Bacherius donavit Coquelio suo*, and *baquerius* (sic) *donavit Joa[n]ni Coquelio suo*. Unfortunately it was not possible to trace Coquelius' identity<sup>5</sup>.

Before he gave the book away, Bacherius wrote down on the fly-leaf two laudatory poems of sixteen verses. Erasures and re-insertions seem to point out that the text of at least one poem was composed directly on this leaf. By classical poetical standards they are charged with biblical and mythological references. The first of them, on the front endpaper, is dedicated to Laurentius Vossaeus or Laurent de Vos, a musician; the second, on the off endpaper, to Viglius Aytta Zuichemius, jurist, diplomat and member of the High Council of Mechlin<sup>6</sup>.

In Laurentiu[m] Vossaeum  
cantorem Gandensem

Siccine, Laurenti, fatis urgeris iniquis  
ut cadat ante suu[m] vita recisa die[m]  
Te Charites flevire, novem flevire Camenae,  
Te gemuit laceris Musica sacra genis,

<sup>3</sup> The illustrations were partly designed and cut by Anton van Leest and Gerard Janssen van Kampen. See Voet, *The Plantin Press*, 3, pp. 1004-1006; *Christoffel Plantijn en de exacte wetenschappen*, ed. by Elly Cockx-Indestege & Francine de Nave (Brussels 1989), p. 73.

<sup>4</sup> The copy belonged to Henry de Vocht and his collection is now preserved in the University library of Louvain (shelf-mark 4A 7703). Christian Coppens, "Cornelius Gemma, Petrus Bacherius & Laurent de Vos: een addendum en wat meer", *Ex officina*, 6 (Leuven 1989), 112-123.

<sup>5</sup> One Antonius Coquel (†1549) was schoolmaster in Veurne (Western Flanders) during the first half of the sixteenth century, and stayed in Bruges as well. See E. Hulshof Pol, "Franciscus Nansius und seine Handschriften", in *Mélanges de linguistique, de littérature et de philologie médiévales, offerts à J.R. Smeets* (Leyde 1982) p. 142.

<sup>6</sup> Obviously these verses were not published.

5. Te ferrugineo flerunt pia sydera amictu,  
 Et Phoebus placidos occuluit radios,  
 Siccine multiforae cessant modulamina vocis  
 et solitu[m] nostra deperit aure melos?  
 Non pudet infami co[n]stringere guttura nodo,  
 10. guttura perpetuis tam bene nota modis.  
 Infamis iudex, infamis tortor, et arbor,  
 quae modo Vossaei pe[n]sile corpus habet.  
 Pendeat Acchitophel<sup>a</sup>, et pe[n]deat arbore Judas,  
 proditor ille fuit, proditor iste fuit.  
 15. Sed qui templa Deo, Domino qui moenia vero  
 asserit, indignis inseritur laqueis?

(On Viglius)

- Viderat Hesperijs<sup>b</sup> co[n]traria flamina ve[n]tis  
 Vigli[us] exposita et littora littoribus.  
 Aestuat, et satur aetatis vigilisq[ue] laboris,  
 Incipit aeternos volvere me[n]te dies:  
 5. “Haec<sup>c</sup> mihi q[uam] tristi rapiu[n]t[ur] tristia cursu  
 saecula, q[uam] saevas iactat Enio<sup>d</sup> faces.  
 Sat mare, sat tellus, placidus satis ignibus aether  
 ruraque purpureo sanguine tincta rube[n]t.  
 [Ne faciat sacra Austriacae vis inclyta dextrae]<sup>e</sup>  
 Ah metuo, nisi praestet ope[m] vis inclyta dextrae  
 10. Austriacae, in priscu[m] cu[n]cta abitura chaos.  
 Nostroru[m] cui si proceru[m] co[n]cordia foelix  
 fida sat adiungat foedera consilij,  
 Irrita discedet<sup>f</sup> posito Bellona flagello  
 Et fugiet nostri Mars populator agri  
 15. Tu[m] Pax audebit vacuis succedere tectis  
 flavaque olivifera Pacis alumna Ceres<sup>g</sup>.”

a) Counsellor of David, joined Absalom and committed suicide at their defeat.

b) The Occident, but more precisely Italy and Spain as well. c) More evidently

should stay here ‘Heu’, but that seems paleographically unsuitable. d) Enyo, Greek war goddess, one of the three Graiae, the Gorgo’s sisters. The Romans called her Bellona, as in v. 13. e) Erased. f) Both words above erased version.

g) Goddess of fertility.

Viglius died in 1577. The poem makes no allusion to his death and even speaks in terms of a living person. One may suspect that these verses were written between 1575, the date of the book, and 1577. Viglius knew Bacherius and praised him in a letter asking for Dominican preachers in Friesland<sup>7</sup>.

The poem on Vossaeus on the contrary makes positive allusion to his horrible death. De Vos was born in Antwerp in 1533 as brother of Martin, the painter. He received his musical education at the cathedral of his native town. As a cleric he became choir-master at the cathedral of Cambrai. There is no general agreement whether it was he or his namesake who was countertenor at Saint-Donatian in Bruges around 1570 and choir-master at Saint-Martin in Ypres from August 17, 1577 till September 1578<sup>8</sup>. These verses add a new element to his biography and might give some support to a stay in Bruges and Ypres. Bacherius calls him cantor at Ghent, Bacherius' native town.

At any rate, in 1579 he was in Cambrai, being in service with the archbishop Louis de Berlaymont. It does not seem impossible that he took refuge in Cambrai as Bacherius did and that the two men met each other<sup>9</sup>. The city was taken and ruled by baron d'Inchy. De Berlaymont fled. Vossaeus had his last performance. In the presence of d'Inchy he directed an occasional motet. Vossaeus' composition was based on a few well chosen psalm verses describing the actual situation of the city and portraying d'Inchy as a tyrant. The musician was arrested. Accused of conspiracy with the Spaniards he was incarcerated a first time on January 21, 1580. After being released, he was confined a second time on March 14. On 18 March his possessions were confiscated and sold by auction three days later. The same day, March 21,

<sup>7</sup> Arts, *De Predikheeren*, p. 224.

<sup>8</sup> C.-A. Lefebvre (Jean-Paul Faber), "Laurent Vos. Chef de la Maitrise des enfants de chœur de l'église métropolitaine de Cambrai (1579-1580)", *Mémoires de la Société d'Emulation de Cambrai*, 26, no 1 (1857), pp. 51-64; August van der Meersch, "De Vos (Laurent)", in *Biographie nationale*, 5 (Brussels 1876), cols. 854-856; Albert van de Linden, "Vos, Laurent de", in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 14 (Kassel 1968), p. 31; Lavern J. Wagner, "Vos [Voz], Laurent de", in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 20, (London 1980), p. 82. In 1603 and 1604 songs from De Vos were still printed at Douai; see Guido Persoons, "Joannes Bogardus, Jean II Bogard en Pierre Bogard als muziekdruckers te Dowai van 1574 tot 1633 en hun betrekkingen met de officina Plantiniana", in *Ex officina Plantiniana. Studia in memoriam Christophori Plantini (ca. 1520-1589)*, ed. by Marcus de Schepper & Francine de Nave (Antwerp 1989), pp. 647, 648-649.

<sup>9</sup> Lefebvre, "Laurent de Vos", p. 56.

Laurentius Vossaeus was hanged without trial<sup>10</sup>. At the archbishop's return the cantor was ceremoniously rehabilitated October 10, 1595.

It is not clear whether Bacherius was an eye-witness to the execution, or whether it was told him by somebody else. At any rate, his reaction seems full of emotion. Bacherius' position is unequivocal. He places Vossaeus against traitors as Ahitophel and Judas and joins hands with those who wished to rehabilitate the musician.

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid., pp. 54-61. Lefebvre quotes archival records. All biographical dictionaries record De Vos' execution as having occurred around January 30, 1580.

Steven BERKOWITZ

A NOTE ON A NEW LETTER FROM GEORGE BUCHANAN  
TO MARNIX OF ST. ALDEGONDE

In his biography of George Buchanan, I.D. McFarlane wrote of a "tantalizing reference to a letter from Buchanan to [Marnix of] St. Aldegonde," whose text was unknown<sup>1</sup>. The recent publication by Aloïs Gerlo of what is apparently this letter leads us to consider again the relationship between Buchanan and the English agent Daniel Rogers in the years 1576-78.

During the late 1570's, Rogers repeatedly encouraged Buchanan, whose health was ever failing, to authorize the printing of his earlier works and to finish his *De rerum Scoticarum historia*<sup>2</sup>. That Rogers reveals in his letters no disappointment or jealousy when he learns that certain works he has been asking after were recently published in Britain, apparently without his knowledge or involvement, is itself noteworthy. Perhaps Rogers had no proprietary interest in Buchanan

<sup>1</sup> *Buchanan* (London, 1981), p. 241; cf. p. 522. Although McFarlane describes this letter as dated 2 November 1576, it is doubtless the same letter.

<sup>2</sup> Rogers (c. 1538-91), the son of the English martyr, received his early education in intellectual centers of Continental Protestantism. In the late 1570's he was Elizabeth's foreign agent sent to establish an international Protestant League. See Jan van Dorsten, *Poets, Patrons, and Professors* (Leyden, 1962) and James M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572-1577* (New Haven, 1972), pp. 298, 492. Rogers' interest in the publication of Buchanan's political and poetical works was shared by the "Sidney Circle." See James Phillips, "George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle," *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, 12 (1948-49), 23-55 and "Daniel Rogers: A Neo-Latin Link between the Pléiade and Sidney's 'Areopagus,'" *Neo-Latin Poetry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. William Matthews (Los Angeles, 1965), pp. 5-28.

Rogers continued as Buchanan's persistent and trustworthy literary mediator until his 1580 capture on the German-Dutch border. On his involvement in the printing of Buchanan's *De iure regni apud Scotos*, Latin Psalm paraphrases, and *poemata*, see the chapter "Spies and Literary Agents: Buchanan's Practice of Revision and the Role of Daniel Rogers" in Steven Berkowitz, "A Critical Edition of George Buchanan's *Baptistes* and of the Anonymous *Tyrannicall-Government Anatomized*," Diss. Harvard Univ. 1986, pp. 42-108, from which the present discussion of the transmission of *Baptistes* is derived.



that could result in such feeling; or, perhaps, both men saw Rogers as having his proper role in the Continental printing of Buchanan's works.

On 28 February 1577, writing from Westminster, Rogers asked that he might see the *Historia*, reminded Buchanan that he had promised his friends his Iambics, Epigrams, and Lyrics, and wondered that, in a list of his unpublished works, the Scotsman had failed to mention his tragedy *Baptistes*:

Illud miror, dum *Sphaericorum* tuorum meministi, eaque citas quae de *Jure regni Scotiae* πολιτικῶς καὶ πλατωνικῶς disseruisti, nullam abs te mentionem factam *Tragoediae Joannis*, cujus ante decennium Parisiis participem me fecisti<sup>3</sup>.

[I wonder at the fact that while you mention your *Sphaera* and cite those things which you discussed politically and Platonically concerning the law of the Scottish kingdom, no mention was made by you of your *Tragedy of John* which you showed me ten years ago in Paris.]

Rogers was very timely in his question about *Baptistes* — the only one of Buchanan's four plays left unprinted — since Buchanan's letter to which Rogers was responding was, we can now confirm, dated the same day as the Dedicatory Epistle to *Baptistes*. That is, on 30 August 1576, Rogers, writing from London, had asked Buchanan what he was preparing for publication. On 1 November 1576, Buchanan replied with a letter, now lost, including a list of works, neglecting to mention his intention of publishing *Baptistes*, even though the Dedicatory Epistle to the play is also written at Stirling on 1 November 1576.

Although Buchanan often ignored the letters that Rogers flooded him with, that of 30 August 1576 (3 *Cal. Sept.*) was special. Besides a long account of Protestant League politics, the packet that Rogers sent to Buchanan included poems from Janus Dousa; a request for news from the Strasbourg humanist Johann Sturm; and a letter from a talented young diplomat, Philip of Marnix of St. Aldegonde (1540?-98), who was in service to William, Prince of Orange. It had been three years since Rogers had received a letter from Buchanan, and he

<sup>3</sup> Buchanan, *Opera Omnia* (Leyden, 1725), I, sig. f3. Rogers elsewhere repeats his having seen *Baptistes* in manuscript. His list of Buchanan's works "still to be published" (*edenda*) includes a "Ioannis Tragoedia quam ostendit in Parisiis 1566" (BN MS Dupuy 951 fol. 52; text as quoted in McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 385). Also, see McFarlane, "George Buchanan and France," *Studies in French Literature Presented to H.W. Lawton*, eds. J.C. Ireson, I. D. McFarlane, and Garnet Rees (Manchester, 1968), p. 245.

pressed, "I desire very much to know whether you received my earlier letters to you and whether this one reaches your hands. I long to know what you are making available for publication<sup>4</sup>."

Next, having just returned to London, Rogers wrote on 28 February 1577, as we have seen above, that he had received in the Low Countries Buchanan's letter written on the calends of November, along with letters for Sturm and Marnix. Rogers tells Buchanan that he sent Sturm's letter by courier, but he himself delivered the letter to Marnix in Brussels<sup>5</sup>. This letter to Marnix, which Buchanan composed with uncharacteristic swiftness, seems to be that recently edited by Aloïs Gerlo.

Gerlo provides a careful, annotated transcript of the manuscript ("een goed leesbaar kalligrafisch origineel"), a Dutch translation, and a discussion that, understandably, stresses the hitherto uninvestigated relationship between Buchanan and Marnix<sup>6</sup>. Still, one would like a fuller account of certain points: the trust between Buchanan and Rogers confirmed by this letter; the significance of Buchanan's typical laxness to chronicle accurately his own life in mentioning his last trip to Spain; Buchanan's witty Horatian remarks (echoes of *Odes* 1.6.12 and *Epistles* 1.1.7-9) on his having given up writing verses nearly ten years ago (about when Marnix would have had his last chance to see Buchanan on the Continent); his strong feelings on the perfidy of the

<sup>4</sup> "Majorem in modum cupio ex te cognoscere, utrum priores meas ad te literas receperis, & num hae ad tuas manus pervenerint. Aveo etiam scire quid parturias" (*Opera*, II, 737).

<sup>5</sup> *Opera*, I, sig. f2<sup>v</sup>-3<sup>v</sup>. On Rogers' quick trip to the Continent, see *C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1575-77 (London, 1880). On 29 December, 1576, Rogers is reported in Marche-en-Famenne in the duchy of Luxemburg (p. 455); on 10 February 1577, Thomas Wilson, the English agent in residence in the Low Countries, records Rogers' presence in Brussels (p. 514), where Marnix was occupied deciphering Spanish letters for the English (p. 552).

Buchanan's letter to Sturm is apparently lost. See McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 460.

<sup>6</sup> "Een Onuitgegeven Brief Van George Buchanan aan Philips van Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde," *Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, Academiae Analecta*, 45 (1983), 66-76. Gerlo also published a transcription of the letter in *De Onuitgegeven Briefwisseling van Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde* (Brussels, 1985), pp. 148-50 and an English revision of the original article, "An Unpublished Latin Letter of George Buchanan to Marnix of Saint Aldegonde," *Studia Varia Bruxellensia*, eds. Cecilia Saerens, Rudolf De Smet, and Henri Melaerts (Louvain, 1987), pp. 43-54. The letter is held by the Houghton Library, Harvard University, as fMS Eng 1343(1). The manuscript is dated "ad Calen. Novemb." (no year; the address page [itself half of the original sheet] is marked "receu le XX[\*] decembre 1576," with a later entry "buchananus le 1 novembr. 1576.") Quotations from this manuscript are by permission of the Houghton Library.

Spanish; and his opposition to the proposed remarriage of Mary Stuart, then imprisoned by Elizabeth.

More specifically, Gerlo fails to indicate a likely error of the author or copyist in the opening of the letter:

Nihil opus erat, Marnixi, tam altae [read alte] repetitis amicitiae nostrae causis, et initiis, quae etiam ultro mihi, te tacente, ambienda fuisset.

[There was no need, Marnix, to seek so deeply for the causes and origins of our friendship, which I on my own, in your silence, should have solicited.]

Consequently, Gerlo's translation, "van onze zo oude vriendschap," misleads. Although Rogers in his 30 August letter (dated 29 August by Gerlo) by way of introduction reminds Buchanan that he knew Marnix in Paris ("nosti Parisiis"), no evidence exists that the two shared an "old friendship" (either in the sense of long-enduring or distantly recollected). And it is unlikely that it was deep, elevated, or noble (more usual translations of *altus*). More probably, Buchanan is politely saying that there was no need for Marnix in his letter to establish his relationship to Buchanan by recollecting casual meetings and common acquaintances of ten years ago in Paris (i.e., *tam alte*)<sup>7</sup>. Rather than these remote references, Buchanan acknowledges more persuasive credentials: Marnix's own reputation and the recommendation from Rogers, "whose judgment I revere and whose friendship I embrace and whose candor I vehemently love" ("vel quod Danieli Rogerio placeres, cuius ego et iudicium revereor, et amicitiam amplector, et candorem vehementer amo:"). One may, in addition, have the feeling that Buchanan was irritated by Marnix's imitating Rogers' habit of considerably reminding the old man of things he could perfectly well remember on his own (*ultro*).

We can only guess what besides a list of Buchanan's works was in the now lost letter to Rogers. It is possible, however, that Buchanan mentioned his duties as tutor to young James. The Dedicatory Epistle to *Baptistes* shows that these responsibilities were on his mind, and Rogers' closing remarks in his 28 February 1577 letter wish Buchanan

<sup>7</sup> The *OLD* (s.v. *alte*) cites Cicero, *Pro Sestio* 31: "quid haec mea oratio tam longa aut tam alte repetita velit."

good health for two explicit reasons: first, that he may add the finishing touches to his writings and, secondly, that his instruction may produce a most Christian king<sup>8</sup>.

Since Buchanan elsewhere in his letters indicates that Rogers has earned his respect and trust especially in handling his publications, it is odd that in November 1576 he chose to keep his friend in the dark about his composing a new epistle for the anticipated printing of *Baptistes*. In any case, Rogers next mentions the play in a letter sent 16 January 1578 from Antwerp to Janus Dousa. Rogers writes that he has just heard of the *Baptistes*' 1577 London printing during dinner with Pierre l'Oyseleur de Villiers (1530-90?), the preacher to the Prince of Orange:

Villerius qui nuper ad Principem venit mecumque hodie est pransus, narravit mihi, Tragediam Johannis Buchananicam Londini impressam: unde eam brevi expectabis<sup>9</sup>:

[Villiers who lately came to the Prince and who dined with me today, has told me that Buchanan's *Tragedy of John* has been printed in London; whence you will expect it shortly.]

One conclusion we draw from Rogers' hearing of the publication of *Baptistes* only in January 1578 is that a year must have passed between the 1 November 1576 date of the Dedicatory Epistle and the first printing of the play. While much is left to conjecture why this year

<sup>8</sup> "ut scriptis quae inchoata habes postremam manum imponas, ac Regem nobis magisteriis tuis reddas Christianissimum" (*Opera*, I, sig. f3<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>9</sup> BL MS Burney 370, f. 12; text as quoted in Van Dorsten, pp. 56, 207. Villiers later recollected his response to being shown *Baptistes*' Dedicatory Epistle; see *C.S.P.*, Foreign, 1583-1584 (London, 1914), No. 709, pp. 573-78, cited in McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 386. In this same letter to Dousa, Rogers complains of his friend's absence in his dealing with the printer André Wechel in Frankfurt, betraying his characteristic reluctance to act without authority:

Miror, autem cum Francofurtum te venturum ad nundinas mihi promiseras, te nec apparuisse isthic, nec literas, mutati consilii mi [read tui] indices ad me misisse. pluribus tuo nomine cum Wechele egi, sed expectabaris indies.

[Moreover I wonder at the fact that although you had promised me that you would come to the Frankfurt Fair, neither did you appear there nor did you send me a letter indicating your changed plan. In many things I acted with Wechel in your name, but you were awaited daily.]

Rogers also reveals in this letter that he plans to have Wechel print his *Hibernia*, an account of Ireland. This work, like most of Rogers' literary projects, was never published. See Van Dorsten, pp. 22-23.

elapsed, one supposition that may be made is that Rogers had indeed been intended to play some part in the printing, but was too busy with serious diplomatic missions abroad during 1577 to deal with Buchanan's literary odds and ends<sup>10</sup>. We may recall that it was Rogers' detention a few years later (1580-84) that frustrated Christopher Plantin's hopes for a collected edition of Buchanan's works<sup>11</sup>.

The selection of the Huguenot Thomas Vautrollier to print the London 1577 *editio princeps* of *Baptistes* may well have been left to Buchanan's friend the diplomat Thomas Randolph, who later said that he received the manuscript for printing from the author<sup>12</sup>. From September 1577 to the end of the year, Randolph was living in Canterbury or London waiting for reassignment<sup>13</sup>. Randolph also seems to have had a special relationship to Vautrollier, for in 1586 or 1587 he intervened to gain the printer a pardon for one of his frequent license infringements<sup>14</sup>. But Rogers, too, may have been involved in choosing Vautrollier, since in 1579 he recommended him to publish Buchanan's poems<sup>15</sup>.

Documents from the *Calendar of State Papers*, Foreign series, and letters exchanged between Hubert Languet and Philip Sidney allow us to trace Rogers' movements between London and Frankfurt in 1577-78. After a long Continental stay during which he was negotiating on behalf of the Protestant League, Rogers writes on 21 December 1577

<sup>10</sup> Except for a few days in February 1577, when he wrote to Buchanan, and some time in May-June before he was sent back to the Continent on 24 June, Rogers was kept outside England on diplomatic missions. See *C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1575-77 and *C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1577-78 (London, 1901), *passim*. On Rogers' accompanying Sidney to Flanders in early March and on his own dealing, in his words, "gravissimis de causis" with the Prince of Orange, see Van Dorsten, pp. 47-57.

<sup>11</sup> See M. Rooses and J. Denucé, eds., *Correspondance de Plantin* (Antwerp, 1883), VI, 313-15, No. 953 (7 October 1581). See, also, Van Dorsten, p. 71.

<sup>12</sup> Randolph (1523-90) most likely came under Buchanan's influence as a student in Paris, where in 1557 he was an exile. See *C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1553-58 (London, 1861), p. 299. His political and personal ties with Buchanan strengthened during his many years as Elizabeth's agent in Scotland. On this, see Phillips, "Sidney Circle," p. 25 and the Randolph-Buchanan correspondence in *Opera*, II. Randolph's anxious response to the political hopes expressed in Buchanan's new Dedicatory Letter to *Baptistes* is found in David Calderwood, *The History of the Kirk of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1842-49), I, 131-32, cited in Phillips, "Sidney Circle," p. 40.

<sup>13</sup> *C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1577-78, pp. 177, 251, 362, 410.

<sup>14</sup> W.R. Le Fanu, "Thomas Vautrollier," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 20 (1958-59), 22.

<sup>15</sup> See *Opera*, II, 751 (Rogers to Buchanan, 7 November 1579); Phillips, "Sidney Circle," p. 48; Phillips, "Rogers," p. 24; and Dorsten, p. 42.

from Frankenthal, south of Worms, that he is ready to leave for England<sup>16</sup>. On 26 December, Languet in Frankfurt writes to Sidney that he expects Rogers to inform Sidney in person about the Protestant German princes<sup>17</sup>. On 8 January 1578, Languet writes to Sidney again, hoping that "Master Rogers long ago reached you safe and sound<sup>18</sup>." (Languet may mean by the time his letter is received by Sidney.) As we know from his letter to Dousa discussed above, on 16 January 1578 Rogers was in Antwerp, on his way to Brussels, hastening for England.

Presumably one of the first things Rogers did in London was to get copies of the Vautrollier *Baptistes* for himself and, as promised, for his Continental cronies. While it seems unlikely that Rogers, who had been collecting Buchanan's poems for publication, had a manuscript of the play, since he wrote twice only that he had seen a copy in Paris ten years ago, he may still have compared a manuscript to the printed text. If he acted quickly, he would have had time to ask Buchanan in Scotland to correct a printed copy for Continental reprinting<sup>19</sup>; it is reasonable to suppose that Buchanan sent Randolph a scribal copy, keeping the original himself.

In any event, Rogers did not linger in London. On 1 March 1578 Sidney in London writes to Languet of Rogers' visiting him. On 10 March 1578, he again writes to Languet, but this time with Rogers as courier, and requests Languet to "love my friend Rogers more and more for my sake<sup>20</sup>." The journey back to Frankfurt, however, seems

<sup>16</sup> C.S.P., Foreign: 1577-78, p. 393. Much of Rogers' time during this mission was spent in Frankfurt, from where on 10 October 1577 he writes Walsingham to send his letters "either to Wechelin's house, where M. Languet abides, or to Dr. Joannes a Glaupturche, my friends" (C.S.P., Foreign: 1577-78, p. 238). Languet was acting as counsellor to the Duke Casimir and was one of the strongest supporters of the idea of the Protestant League.

<sup>17</sup> Hubert Languet, *Epistolae politicae et historicae* (Frankfurt, 1633), Epistola LXIII, pp. 226-29. A convenient collection in English is Steuart A. Pears, trans., *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet* (London, 1845).

<sup>18</sup> Pears, p. 133. "Spero Dominum Rogerium, & nostrum Beutthericum salvos & incolumes dudum ad vos peruenisse" (*Epistolae*, p. 230).

<sup>19</sup> There is evidence that even when Rogers had reliable manuscripts for a proposed Continental edition of *De jure regni apud Scotos* he and the printers preferred printed copy, which was apparently checked against manuscript for changes. It seems likely, moreover, from Buchanan's fussy handling of the printing of his *Psalmorum Paraphrases* that he insisted on being given an opportunity to make even minor changes and corrections in a new edition. See Berkowitz, pp. 51-69.

<sup>20</sup> Pears, p. 147. "Meum D. Rogerium oro ut in meam gratiam adhuc magis ames" (Hastings Robinson, trans. and ed., *The Zurich Letters*, 2nd series [Cambridge, 1845], p. 184).

not to have passed without incident, for, according to Van Dorsten, "in the early spring of 1578, there was a rumour that Rogers had been taken prisoner." Rescued by horsemen of the Prince of Orange, he was able to continue his mission<sup>21</sup>. We next hear from Rogers in Mainz on 6 April. He is on his way south to Kaiserslautern, hoping to meet with Duke Casimir. The crucial part of his mission with the Duke completed in April, Rogers next travels through Frankfurt on his way north to Bruges<sup>22</sup>.

On 2 May 1578, Languet writes to Sidney from Frankfurt that he has just "received the letter which you gave Master Rogers for me<sup>23</sup>." One may easily imagine that Rogers also carried a corrected copy of the London *Baptistes* to André Wechel, the printer whose white house in Frankfurt was the favored meeting place for Rogers, Languet, and Sidney<sup>24</sup>. To his 1578 edition of *Baptistes* Wechel added a dedicatory epigram by Rogers:

<sup>21</sup> Van Dorsten, p. 68. The timetable is perplexing, however. On the evening of 28 March, Rogers left Antwerp to travel to Germany by way of Dordrecht. On the next day, Davison, the English agent in Antwerp, reports Rogers' brief capture and release. But, as Van Dorsten records, other letters that mention rumors of Rogers' capture are dated 25 and 26 March.

<sup>22</sup> *C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1577-78, pp. 579, 584, 600-2, 661, 668. Van Dorsten adds to this account that at Dordrecht "some time after 1 April," Rogers was presented with a portrait of William the Silent, "by the Prince himself" (p. 56). Hurried, so that Rogers could reach Mainz on 6 April, it must have been a brief ceremony.

<sup>23</sup> Pears, p. 149. "Haec scribens accepi literas, quas Domino Rogerio ad me dedisti" (*Epistolae*, p. 245). Rogers could not have stayed long with Languet, since on 8 May 1578 he writes to Davison from Bruges (*C.S.P.*, Foreign: 1577-78, p. 668). I have found no evidence that Rogers travelled again to Germany in 1578. J.J. Levy supports this chronology in his "Daniel Rogers as Antiquary," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance*, 27 (1965), 450.

<sup>24</sup> On the close relationships among the émigré Huguenot Wechel, Languet, Rogers, and Sidney, see Osborn, pp. 71, 288, 298, 461, 492-96; *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie* (Leipzig, 1896), XLI, 366; Van Dorsten, pp. 30, 56, 68-70; W.R. Le Fanu, "André Wechel," *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 21 (1966), 58-81; and, more generally, R.J.W. Evans, *The Wechel Presses: Humanism and Calvinism in Central Europe 1572-1627*, Past and Present, Supplement 2 (Oxford, 1975). Languet wrote the news of their common friend Rogers' 1580 capture to Sidney and Buchanan (Van Dorsten, pp. 69-70). It is worth recording that Languet believed Buchanan's Protestant tendencies were well known before 1561. Surprised that Johann Sturm counted the Comte de Brissac among the Papists, Languet pointed out that the maréchal had made Buchanan his eldest son's tutor, "qui aperte hanc nostram religionem profitebatur" (*Epistolae Secretae* [Halle, 1699], p. 103). On the date of Buchanan's appointment as tutor — "not later than 1555" — see McFarlane, *Buchanan*, p. 175; on Buchanan's "congenial" connection to Languet, pp. 172-3, 462.

DANIELS ROGERSII ALBI-  
MONTII ANGLI, AD GEOR-  
gij Buchanani Scoti poematia,  
Epigramma.

Quis sacer haec Phoebus, quis carmina dictat Apollo?  
 Enthea qui rursus plectra poeta quatit?  
 Phoebus is est (quid enim dubitem?) cui in carmine docto  
 Gratia divino mixta lepore nitet.  
 Aut si non Phoebus, Phoebi est qui praesidet arti,  
 Par numeris Phoebo, parque lepore suo<sup>25</sup>.

[What sacred Phoebus, what Apollo composes these poems? What poet strikes again the inspired lute? It is Phoebus (for why should I doubt it?) in whose learned song Grace shines mixed with divine charm. Or if not Phoebus, it is one who presides over Phoebus' art, equal in his verses to Phoebus, and equal in his loveliness.]

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<sup>25</sup> *Baptistes* (Frankfurt, 1578), sig. Al<sup>v</sup>. For *lepore*, Hertford MS, HM 31188, folio 88<sup>r</sup>, reads *nitore* (underscored) with the correction *lepore* in the margin apparently in the same hand and ink (quoted by permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California).



Michiel VERWEIJ

PETRUS VLADERACCUS  
AND HIS *DIVA VIRGO OIRSCHOTTANA*\*

Oirschot is a municipality in the northern part of the ancient duchy of Brabant, which was assigned to the States General in 1648. In the middle ages Oirschot was a rather important borough and the capital of the Kempenland subdivision of the Meijerij (district) of 's-Hertogenbosch, one of the four capitals of Brabant. Testimonies of the past are still the Sint-Pieters-kerk, one of the largest churches in the province of North-Brabant, the town-hall and various other buildings. Besides, Oirschot has, like most self-respecting villages and towns in Brabant and Flanders, a miraculous statue of the Blessed Virgin. This would not have attracted any Neo-Latin attention but for a description made of it by Petrus Vladeraccus.

Petrus Vladeraccus, whose letters were edited by M.A. Nauwelaerts in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, 20(1971), 255-266, was born in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1571 and taught at the Latin school of that city<sup>1</sup>. He wrote several works, the most important of which is his biblical drama *Tobias* (1598)<sup>2</sup>. In 1603 or 1604 he retired suddenly and became priest in Oirschot, where he died on January 6, 1618. During this period he meddled constantly with the local Latin school, even to the effect that one of the canons complained to bishop Zoesius on his visit to Oirschot in 1615: "debere etiam pastorem relinquere scholam"<sup>3</sup>. Whether Vladeraccus really taught at the school remains to be seen, but possibly one

\* This article is a revision of a contribution to *Campinia*, 19(1989), 119-128. I should like to thank Mr. Lijten for his permission to adapt this contribution.

<sup>1</sup> On Vladeraccus and his works, see the article of M.A. Nauwelaerts in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*; id., *Latijnse school en onderwijs te 's-Hertogenbosch tot 1629* (Tilburg 1974), pp. 179-183; id. in: *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Brussel 1979), col. 859-861, with references to older literature.

<sup>2</sup> We are preparing an edition of this drama in Louvain.

<sup>3</sup> A.M. Frenken, *Documenten betreffende de kapittels van Hilvarenbeek, Sint-Oedenrode en Oirschot*, (s-Hertogenbosch 1956). p. 270.

may assume that he took the best pupils under his special care and that he instructed them privately. At any rate it was not until some years after his death, when 's-Hertogenbosch had been conquered by the States General in 1629, that the Oirschot Latin school saw the most prosperous years in its entire history. The most important Catholic school in the region, viz. that of 's-Hertogenbosch, having been closed, there was no alternative left for Catholic families but to send their children to one of the other, smaller schools, including the Latin school of Oirschot, which seems to have had a good reputation in those years.

Apart from his ecclesiastical and scholastic activities, Vladeraccus wrote a small book on the miraculous statue of the Blessed Virgin. Unfortunately, the book never got printed, although it had been sent for that purpose to the famous printing-office of Plantin and Moretus. In the Plantin-Moretus Museum two letters of Vladeraccus, both edited by M.A. Nauwelaerts, concerning this matter are preserved. The first, dated Nov. 7, 1612, accompanied the manuscript and contains a request to print it, since it had been approved by the authorities. The second, dated July or perhaps Aug. 1, 1614, was written to have it sent back because, Vladeraccus says, he wanted to add and alter something. Moretus probably sent it back to Oirschot, but what happened to it afterwards is unknown, except for one major fact: Augustinus Wichmans<sup>4</sup> quoted a passage from it in his work on the sanctuaries of the Virgin in Brabant, the *Brabantia Mariana* (Antverpiae, 1632, p. 420-425). This passage is all we have now, while the rest is lost. Wichmans (1596-1661) entered Tongerlo abbey in 1613 and was appointed priest of Mierlo, a village in North-Brabant, in 1630, and afterwards priest of Tilburg in 1632 whence he went into exile in 1634.

Wichmans probably made inquiries of the priest of Oirschot about the Oirschot statue in the late 1620's or during his stay at Mierlo and he may have received the manuscript of Vladeraccus' *Diva Virgo Oirschottana*. Whether he sent it back afterwards or not is unknown. If he did, the book may have been lost after 1648, when the new Protestant local government was not very interested in all those Catholic papers and archives. (Various parts of the Oirschot archives did, in fact, disappear this way). If Wichmans, on the other hand, did not find an occasion to return it, the manuscript may have been lost during the

<sup>4</sup> On Wichmans, see N.J. Weyns in: *Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Brussel 1972), col. 1003-1009.

turbulent years of his exile and wanderings. However that may be, the only extant passage is published at the end of this article, together with a summary of the rest of the book made by Wichmans.

Another part of the history of this work may be of some interest to readers concerned with Justus Lipsius. Some years after his return to Louvain, Lipsius wrote two books on sanctuaries of the Virgin in the south of Brabant, viz. *Diva Virgo Hallensis* (1604) and *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricollis* (1605)<sup>5</sup>. The latter was dedicated to the Archduchess Isabella and contains a description of the foundation and early miracles of one of the most visited places of pilgrimage in Belgium, viz. Scherpenheuvel (in French: Montaigu). The revival of Mariolatry was an important feature of the Counter-Reformation. In the Spanish Low Countries, Scherpenheuvel was the centre of this revival. It was a new town founded by the Archdukes Albert and Isabella (ruled 1599-1621), while a church was built at their expense, which became one of the first Belgian churches constructed in a new style, the Baroque. Apparently, Lipsius's description could be used to support the policy of the Archdukes and perhaps we may conclude from the subsequent paragraphs that contemporaries accepted it as such.

For one thing, we know that Petrus Vladeraccus read the book, for he says in the very first line of the preserved passage: "Oirschottum municipium est Campinae sive, — ut Lipsius indigetat —, Campaniae", which refers to chapter 8 of the *Diva Sichemiensis*: "Campaniam tractum Brabantiae dicimus latum vastum". Furthermore, in chapter 33 Lipsius writes about the cure of a terrible headache which he calls "cephalalgia", which is exactly the word figuring in one of the miracles of the Oirschot statue as summed up by Wichmans in what seems to be a table of contents of Vladeraccus's book. Finally it may be a coincidence that Vladeraccus dedicated his work to the Archduke Albert, while Lipsius dedicated his to Albert's wife Isabella, but we can also assume a deliberate change of dedication, even an affiliation to Lipsius's scheme, which Vladeraccus expressed by dedicating his book to the Archduke. If this assumption is correct, we may safely conclude that Vladeraccus considered Lipsius's work as sustaining the Archduke's policy of Counter-Reformation. Vladeraccus himself was influenced by this Catholic revival to a great extent, and he participated

<sup>5</sup> We consulted Lipsius's *Opera omnia* (Antverpiae 1637) part 3: *Diva Virgo Hallensis*, pp. 687-720; *Diva Sichemiensis*, pp. 721-748.

fully in it. This is demonstrated by the clearly anti-Calvinistic tone of his other works, e.g. the *Congratulatio* (1597)<sup>6</sup> or the *Elenchus in Batavos* (the final part of the *Diarium* on the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1601) and, on the other hand, by the edifying and encouraging tone of the *Tobias* (1598) and the *Diva Virgo Oirschottana*. Furthermore, we must bear in mind that he was a teacher in a Catholic school and finally, we must consider that Vladeraccus, during his pastorate, introduced the Roman rites instead of the provincial rites of Liège in Oirschot, thereby bringing the liturgical practice into line with the decisions of the Council of Trent.

Moreover, it cannot be sheer coincidence that several things relating to the Oirschot statue took place just after 1605, the year Lipsius's *Diva Sichemiensis* was published. According to Vladeraccus himself, Johannes Daems van Nuenen, "scholasticus" of the Oirschot chapter, constructed a new chapel in 1605 or 1606. In 1606 Vladeraccus, according to Wichmans in his summary of the rest of the *Diva Virgo*, started an investigation into the miracles surrounding the statue, presumably intending to write a book on them. The investigation having been completed in about 1611-1612, he finished his manuscript and sent it to Moretus in Antwerp. Considering these facts, the similarities with Lipsius's book and Vladeraccus's commitment to the Counter-Reformation, it seems not unreasonable to propose the following conclusion: Vladeraccus, after reading Lipsius's book, recognized it as part of the Catholic revival and undertook himself to write a description of a miraculous statue, viz. the Oirschot statue, like Lipsius, in order to support the edifying work begun by Lipsius under the auspices of the Archdukes. If, after all, he meant to write for the local population, he would rather write his work in Dutch, instead of which, he wrote a Latin treatise in a rather difficult and learned style with several Greek words and some quotations.

Whatever Vladeraccus wanted to achieve, he did not succeed, because the book never got printed and, in fact, has been lost except for the small passage and the summary from Wichmans. This fragment consists of four parts, the first of which gives a general description of Oirschot and its church and chapels, while the second part relates the legend connected with the statue. The third part describes the annual

<sup>6</sup> New edition with a Dutch translation: M. Verwey, "De 'Gelukwens' van Petrus Vladeraccus (1571-1618)", in *In Buscoducis. Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch. De cultuur van late middeleeuwen en renaissance*. Bijdragen en redactie van dr. A.M. Koldeweij (Maarssen-'s-Gravenhage 1990), pp. 385-386.

pilgrimage and the history of the building before 1605, whereas the fourth part contains the healing of Joannes Daems and his construction activities in 1605 or 1606. The local legend about the statue is somewhat embellished nowadays, in so far as the statue is said to have been found drifting against the current, and to have been removed several times by the “Beersiani” (i.e. the inhabitants of one of the neighbouring villages, viz. Oostelbeers or Middelbeers, who still are not on very friendly terms with the “Oirschottani”) before the statue was transferred to Oirschot, where it still can be visited. The chapel built by Joannes Daems was destroyed after 1648, but in the 19th century a new chapel was constructed, which still exists, whereas the environs are still as desolate and uninhabited as in 1400 or 1612. Every year a public mass is celebrated in May, but the ancient customs, as described by Vladeraccus, are no longer preserved. The chapel remains, however, an important place of pilgrimage in the neighbourhood.

The passage quoted by Wichmans probably is the beginning of the book. According to Wichmans chapter 3 described the investigation by Vladeraccus, whereas the subsequent chapters related some miracles. Apart from the case of “cephalalgia” which has been dealt with above, some cases show remarkable similarities with titles in Lipsius’s *Diva Sichemiensis*: e.g. “puellae claudae & per terram repenti gressus restitutus” (Vladeraccus apud Wichmans) — “clauda in gressum erigitur” (Lipsius, c. 40); “languor triennio durans remotus” (Vladeraccus) — “languor varius mixtusque curatus” (Lipsius, c. 36). Moreover, several healings of blindness, deafness, headache and fever were apparently recorded.

We present an edition of the preserved passage to the reader, as Wichmans quoted it, accompanied by a few notes. Probably, the quotation is reasonably exact, except for one interpolation printed in italics in Wichmans’s book. Although the text is now above all of local interest, the history of the book shows some features of general interest, especially the imitation of Justus Lipsius. Moreover, it is one of the last Latin testimonies of the spiritual climate in the Eastern part of North-Brabant before the assignation to the States General, a fervently Catholic atmosphere influenced by, and participating in the Counter-Reformation, which probably is the reason why this region is still predominantly Catholic, despite the fact that it was governed for one and a half centuries by an exclusively Calvinistic government.

Leuven

Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae

## TEXT

Oirschottum municipium est Campinae sive, - ut Lipsius indigetat<sup>1</sup>-, Campaniae, peramplum, D. Odulphi Confessoris (uti Laurentius Surius non obscure testatur<sup>2</sup>) natali solo clarissimum, turris altitudine<sup>3</sup>) conspicuum, templi — licet ex opere lateritio — elegantia et amplitudine non ignobile, collegii canonicorum officique divini, — musicam praesertim si quis spectare velit —, celebritate adeo laudabile ut etiam diversis non obscuri nominis civitatibus hoc encomio palmam praeferat. Duas habet parochias, alteram D. Petro (quae collegialis est ecclesia), alteram S. Odulpho (qui eodem quo ipsius templum aedificatum est loco, natus est) sacram. Sacella ibidem conspiciuntur tria, unum D. Georgio dedicatum, cui adstructum est ex toparcharum gentis Merodae munificentia xenodochium, pauperculorum viatorum azylum. Reliqua duo Deiparae Virginis hyperduliae sacrata sunt, quorum maius visendae suspiciendaeque est antiquitatis, non procul a D. Petri basilica, sed aliud versus Zephyrum recenter extructum est in erica, loco prorsus solitario et ab hominum cultura vicinaque cohabitatione remoto.

Hic fama est bubulcos ante duo circiter saecula in arena ripae ad fluvium Alpha sive Aa<sup>4</sup> casu invenisse imagunculam Deiparae Virginis eamque quercui fluvio ad iactum lapidis vicinae (cui iam sacellum aedificatum est contiguum) adligasse, deinde subplices ad genua provolutos Deiparam Virginem in ea honorasse.

Fertur etiam eandem imaginem a Beersianis inde ablatam summo mane postero die loco ubi primum deposita erat, fuisse deprehensam. Hinc locus ille religiosa coli coepit reverentia ab Oirschottanis nostris idque eo proclivius quod prima etiam visitatione diversi febribus levantur.

Instituta deinde fuit eius et imaginis et loci ab ecclesiastici ordinis proceribus solennis frequentatio, quae Sabbathi die proximo ante festum D. Ioannis Baptistae vel alterius iam currentis saeculi memoria hoc

<sup>1</sup> Iustus Lipsius in opere suo quod inscribitur *Diva Sichemiensis sive Aspricollis*, c. 8 (in Operibus omnibus suis (a. 1637) t. 3, p. 729) scripsit: "Campaniam tractum Brabantiae dicimus latum vastum". De Lipsio vide supra.

<sup>2</sup> Vide Laurentii Surii *De probatis sanctorum historiis* (Coloniae Agrippinae 1579), partem 3, pp. 710-713.

<sup>3</sup> Post verbum "altitudine" sequitur manu Augustini Wichmans: "at haec nuper de coelo tacta, supremo vertice inminuta est" (sc. a. 1627).

<sup>4</sup> Aa, quod interpretatur "aqua", antiquum nomen rivi, qui nunc "Beerze" vocatur, esse videtur, Alpha tantum nomine Graeco significante A.

modo servata fuit ut in praesentia etiam celebratur, ut pastor cum suo acolytho hora octava matutina parochiali adornatus habitu ex D. Petri prodiens insideat currui ad hoc ex onere certi cuiusdam arvi et domicilli ab inhabitante colono ad utrumque vehendum destinato comitantibus tum carrucis tum pedestri itinere diversis utriusque sexus hominibus. Ubi ad locum hunc Virgini Matri sacrum perventum est, fit concio sub dio, postea laudes decantantur Deiparae Matri. Quod quidem multis annis ita fuit observatum dum nulla ibidem constructa esset aedicula. Tandem ex maiori numero ob quotidianam quasi medelam eo confluentium oblationibus lignea primum fuit extructa domuncula. Quae licet horrenda ista bellorum tempestate aliquantisper fuerit eversa, adservata tamen in D. Petri templo primum, deinde Silvaeducis fuit imago nec minus locus singulis diebus Sabbatinis ab adversa adfectis valetudine desiit cum praesenti etiam relevamine frequentari.

Dominus autem Ioannes Daems Nunensis, scholarcha sive, ut vulgus appellat, scholaster Oirschottanus, cum post devastatam aediculam, uti supra memoravimus, ligneam, extructam videret a nostris domunculam lateritiam ita angustam ut nullum altare et praeter imaginem vix quatuor flexis sedentes genibus posset homines capere cumque frequentiore quotidie multitudinis non iam ex vicinis dumtaxat, sed etiam remotioribus undique locis videret confluum, ob beneficam Matris misericordiae in afflictum genus humanum (ut ἐμφοτικώτερον dicam) φιλοστοργίαν huic quod iam conspicitur sacello quadringentos cis flores inpendit extruendo, praecipuam materie partem ipse Republica Oirschottana subpeditante. Singulari siquidem bonus iste vir zelo et devotione hunc erga locum adficitur, quod et antea semel et postea, veluti adfirmat, saepius divinam in se opem ibi sit expertus. Nam ante sacelli extructionem memoriam qua diuturno tempore destitutus in universum prope erat — nescio an λύθαργον hoc malum Celsus L.3 c.20 intelligat<sup>5</sup> —, recuperavit anno 1605. Deinde sequenti anno sacello iam recens extructo ex gravissimo lapsu pridie Adsumptionis Deiparae Virginis brachio graviter luxato invocata D. Virgine subito sese restitutum adseverat. Anno deinde sequenti, nimirum 1607, proxime circa dominicam Palmarum, non tantum molesto, verum etiam periculoso gutturi dolore ibidem sacrificans relevatur.

<sup>5</sup> Vide Celsi *De medicina*, III 20, 1: "Lethargum Graeci nominarunt". Fortasse u non aliud est ac littera η conversa (proposuit S. Gijssens) aut "i" expressa secundum appellationem, qui itacismus dicitur.

SUMMARY OF THE REST OF THE BOOK,  
MADE BY WICHMANS

Hactenus de verbo ad verbum ex praedicto Vladeracci libello; qui postmodum cap. 3. dicit se anno 1606. pro suggestu publicasse, ut qui beneficam hanc Divam Ad sacram Quercum (ita enim nominatur, vernaculè, Onze Lieve Vrouwe ten heylighen Eyck) fuissent experti, ad illius, & Dei gloriam beneficia sibi praestita, sub jurejurando fideliter deponerent. quod mox coram Praetore, duobus Scabinis, Pastore, Scholarchâ, nec non Notario publico, à diversis factum est. Recenset ipse undecim, praeclara satis & authentica; videlicet, Hernia curata. Capitis dolor, decennio integro gravissimus, fugatus. Surditas aliquot annorum depulsa. Febres continuæ detersae. Puellae claudae & per terram repentî, gressus restitutus. Caecitas sublata. Apostema periculosum itidem curatum. Mors quasi praesens & certa, fugata. Languor triennio durans, remotus. Cephalalgia continua & permolesta, sublata à Dominâ de Berchem Antverpiae, quae prae dolore intolerabili capitis, in phrenesim fermè adacta, certior de hâc Divâ Ad sacram Quercum facta, mox ubi sacra quindecim hoc loco celebrari mandat, omni dolore levata est, lecto surrexit, alvi laxioris (cùm tribus continuò septimanis antea restricta, ne Medicorum quidem operâ mollescere potuisset) beneficio simul donata, omninò convaluit, anno 1611.



Dirk SACRÉ

## CONSPECTUS POETARUM LATINORUM 1900-1960: SUPPLEMENTUM

Anni amplius quinque et viginti sunt elapsi, ex quo Iosephus IJsewijn, poetas, qui saeculo nostro floruerant etiamve florebant, in album rettulit, carminum libellos quotquot ei innotuerant in indicem conguessit, albo eo et indice fundamenta iacuit Camenae recentissimae investigandae<sup>1</sup>. Idem vir synopsis illam copiosissimam tribus post annis accessionibus auxit nonnullis<sup>2</sup>.

Mihi vero ad hodiernos illos Musae alumnos interdum devertenti cum versuum fasciculi novi passim occurrissent, sparsos eos flores colligere non inutile est visum; non enim dubitabam quin philologi poetas huiusce saeculi pluris tandem aliquando essent pensuri.

Syllabum autem hunc eisdem digessi rationibus, quibus erat usus v.d. IJsewijn. Qua de causa, cum poematia in commentariis divulgata aequabilitatis caussa reiecerimus, speramus tamen fore ut reperiatur bibliopola et editor, qui bibliographiam quam absolutissimam in lucem edere velint. Commentationes autem, libros, elogia aliasque id genus elucubrationes ideo non laudavimus, quod indicem bibliographicum ad scriptores saec. XIX et XX Latinos pertinentem foras eramus edituri.

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ESPINOSA POLIT, AURELIUS S.J.: *La pastoral Virgiliana de Whicher: carmen Anglicum bucolicum cum versione latina et hispanica* (Quití, 1937); — *El Lebré del cielo de Francis Thompson. Semblanza, versión poética y comentario* (Quití, 1948). In appendice (pp. 161-177) carminis huius versiones Latinae duae eduntur.

VÁSQUEZ, MICHAEL S.J.: 'Virgilio, Bolívar y Olmedo', in *Estudios Virgilianos*.

<sup>1</sup> "Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi", *Euphrosyne*, 3 (1961), 149-190.

<sup>2</sup> Conspectus poetarum Latinorum saeculi vicesimi — AUCTARIUM", *Palaestra Latina*, 34 (1964), 384-389.

*Homenaje de la Compañía de Jesus en el Ecuador al poeta latino en el bimilenario de su nacimiento* (Quiti, 1931), pp. 8-69: Carmen in Bolivarem ab Olmedo, principe poetarum Aequatoris, olim conditum, exemplaribus Latinis, praecipue Vergilianis, versione restitutum; — Eodem et libro continetur ode Sapphica, c.t. *Parthenias*, auctore F. LUCA FERNÁNDEZ S.J. (p. 123).

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- CAGNACCI, OCTAVIUS: *Jesu Christo Deo hominum sospitatori Ode alcaica* (Vene-tiis, 1900).
- CARMEN sacerdotale (*D. Sylvio M. Vismara monacho Olivetensi OSB dicatum*) (Serenii, 1907, 5 pp.).
- CARMINA ad auspicatissimum diem celebrandum, quo in seminario Patavino Pio X PM monumentum dicatum est (Patavii, 1905).
- CARMINA in honorem B. Gregorii Barbadici (Patavii, 1911).
- CARMINA praemiis et laudibus in certamine poetico ornata quod SPQR edidit ad diem natalem urbis, anno ab regno Italico instituto L, solemniter celebran-dum (Romae, 1911). Continentur carmina Pascoli, Ussani, P. Rasi, I. Albini); cf. *Conspectus*, p. 167.
- CARMINA publice recitata in exaltatione academica quam L<sup>o</sup> anno a definito dogmate de Immaculae Conceptione habuit Seminarium Patavinum (Pata-vii, 1905).
- CARNEVALE SCHIANCA, SILVIUS: *Sanguinis stillae: epicedion* (Vigevani, 1908).
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- CASOLI, ALPHONSUS S.J.: *Ad conventum Hagensem carmen de pace publica* (Ficaroli, 1908).
- CAVOLI, VITUS: *Carmina Latino et Italico idiomate interpretata ac exarata* (Panormi, 1902).
- CEI, GERONTIUS S.P. (1840-1905): *Carmen* (Romae, 1900). In memoriam Mauri Riccii. Idem permulta carmina Latina saec. XIX divulgavit.
- CHIESA, ANTONIUS: *Carne dedicato a Papa Giovanni XXIII* (Caesenae, 1959). Ed. altera emendata et aucta.
- CIPOLLINI, ANTONIUS: *Versi latini e greci* (Mediolani, 1913); — *A Tripoli. Carmen* (Monteleone, 1913); — *Palatioli castrum Super Ollium: carmen, con la versione in prosa ital.* (Brixiae, 1921).

- CHRISTOFER, IOHANNES: *Carmina* (Apuae, 1901).
- DAIDONE, HIERONYMUS: *Minima* (Panormi, ca. 1960).
- DE CAESARIS, IOHANNES (° 1872): *Vela Latina* (Atriae, 1915); — *Levamen, ad Henricum Cocchia in universitate Neapolitana magistrum carmen* (Interamnae Praetutiorum, 1917).
- DE FRAJA FRANGIPANE, ALOISIUS: *Carmen saeculare ad Victorium Emmanuelem III augustum Italiae regem* (Neapoli, 1901).
- DEL TON, IOSEPHUS: *Tiberinae voces* (Romae, 1958).
- DE MARCHI, ATILIUS: *Disticha eius anno 1916 prodire*.
- EGGER, CAROLUS: *Tirolensia Latina* (Oeniponte, 1960). Continetur eo libro etiam de cruce Alpina elegia.
- ELISEI, RAPHAEL: *Chorus puerorum et puellarum qui ante mariti aedes agi fingitur postquam nova nupta ingressa est* (Florentiae, 1920).
- FAVARO, IOSEPHUS: *In Leonardum anatomen exordientem carmen* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1941); — *Velivolus et Leonardus* (s.l., 1941).
- FERRARI — VISCONTI, P.F.: *Annum libertatis quinquagesimum Romae maximis ludis celebrante Italia* (Neapoli, 1911).
- FICARI, QUIRINUS: *Decennalia a fascibus renovatis. Carmen Latine et Italice editum* (Pisauri, 1933).
- IORE, VINCENTIUS: *Elegia sacra in versi latini, con traduzione di Geremia Fiore* (Neapoli, 1900); — *Vestigia* (Neapoli, 1906).
- FONDI, SALVATOR: Enr. Fondi, *Al metro saffico, ode preceduta da un' ode latina di Salv. Fondi* (Romae, 1904).
- FRANCESIA, IOHANNES BAPTISTA (1838-1930): *Actiones dramaticae Plautinis versibus conscriptae* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1910); — *Ad Golgotham: sacra actio dramatica versibus senariis conscripta* (Mediolani, 1903); — *Tarcisius: actio dramatica versibus senariis conscripta* (Sancti Benigni in Salassis, 1909<sup>2</sup>).
- GANDIGLIO, ADOLPHUS: *Post discessum Brundisio Maecenatis. Carmen in certamine poetico Locrensi aureo praemio ornatum* (Hieraci, 1928); — *In nuptiis Luciani Vischi et Idae Sambo* (Fani, 1913).
- GARA internazionale di poesia latina C. Triunviri, IV anno acc. (Hieraci, 1929): comprehendit carmina Vincentii Polidori et Iosephi Morabito; — *Id., V anno acc.* (Hieraci, 1930). Comprehendit carmina Iosephi Morabito et Iosaei Salatiello.
- GARAVANI, IUNIUS: *Post nubila Phoebus* (Anconae, 1941).
- GENINI, VERGILIUS: *Minutiarum libri duo. Editio tertia emendata et aucta* (Mediolani, 1900). Libellus idem ibidem anno etiam 1904<sup>o</sup> foras est editus.
- GROSSO, STEPHANUS: *Carminum congeries* (Mediolani, 1901).
- ILLUMINATI, ALOISIUS: *Rusticatio Pompeiana: carmen* (Atriae, 1918); — *Carmen in Benitum Mussolini ducem* (Florentiae, 1931).
- INGOLETTI, VICTORIUS (1862-1931): *I fanculli al presepio: poesie natalizie* (Rapalli, s.a.); — *Giugno lirico: poesie e canti sacri* (Rapalli, 1927); — *Lirica Mariana e i poeti a Maria* (Rapalli, 1929). Quibus libellis et Latina continentur poemata.
- JACOBELLI, M. ERMINIUS: *In campo Latinitatis: novi flores subsecivis horis selecti* (Romae, 1914).

- JACOBINI, DOMINICUS: *Cintra, carme latino, tradotto in versi italiani da Prosp. Peragallo* (Genuae, 1901).
- LANDI, CAROLUS: *Ad Ferdinandum Galanti carmen* (Patavii, 1907).
- LUCANTONIO, LUDOVICUS: *In Gabrielem D'Annunzio stultis comparationibus sacram Eucharistiam offendentem obiurgatorium carmen* (Romae, 1917).
- LUCCHESI, ANTONINUS: *David: versi latini* (Panormi, 1904).
- MAMBRETTI, CAESAR: *In laudem Francisci Parrillo carmen* (Mediolani, s.a.); — *Al cardinale Achille Ratti arcivescovo di Milano* (Mediolani, 1921).
- MANFRIDA, FR.: *De Christi redemptoris monumento a Bruttiiis quamprimum erigendo in extremo Apennini iugo ... carmen*, in G. Morabito, *Un nuovo Appello* (Regii, 1900), pp. 11-12; — *Carmi latini ed epigrafi varie* (Parmae, 1901).
- MARTINI, VALERIUS: *A Tripoli! Versi latini* (Florentiae, 1912).
- MELANI, RAPHAEL: *Maecenas et Horatius; Humanae faces; poematia* (Pistorii, 1923).
- MELICONI, CAELESTINUS (= MELICUS SILVANUS URANIUS): *Messoris: versi latini* (Carali, 1901); — *Nugae; querelae* (Carali, 1901).
- MIGLIAZZA, DOMINICUS: *Claudia. Carmen* (Mediolani, 1956); — *Delia. Carmen* (Ticini, 1919); — *Deliciae ruris. Carmen* (Mediolani, 1926); — *Dux. Carmen Romae renascenti sacrum, in certamine Locrensi IV Non. Iul. praemio laudis ornatum* (Mediolani, 1933; cum versione Italica D.R. Baratti, Vastallae, 1937); — *Italia renascens. Carmina* (Mediolani, 1956); *Q. Horatius Flaccus. Carmen* (Mediolani, 1937); — *Reditus a Sardinia* (Mediolani, 1930); — *Vilicus. Carmen in certamine poetico Hoeufftiano plurimis carminibus praelatum* (Ticini, 1919).
- MILANI, CAROLUS: *Nugae; epigrammata; versus; inscriptiones* (Aletrii, 1903).
- MINARDO, SALVATOR: *De vitiis huius aetatis: versi* (Ragusii, 1905).
- MONDAINI, FELIX: *Carmina* (Utini, 1904); — *In Franciscum Petrarcham carmen* (ibid., 1904).
- MONTALBANO, FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS: *Monreale nelle sue memorie antiche e moderne: carmi latini* (Panormi, 1900).
- MORABITO, IOSEPHUS: *Carmen, c.t. Primus Amor*, anno 1927 lucem vidit publicam.
- MORALE, DOMINICUS: *In templo: versi latini* (Anxani, 1912).
- MORELLI, CAMILLUS: *Quinque sorores. Traduzione di Teofilo Barbini* (Casale, 1926).
- MUCCI, ALOISIUS: *Turtur gemens: elegia latina con versione italiana di G. Petroni* (Prati, 1902).
- NEMI, ORESTES: *Il vicariato di Bulzi: scherzo in versi latini e in vari dialetti sardi* (Saceri, 1900).
- NOCCELLI, IOSEPHUS: *Al conte Sav. Nasalli Rocca, promosso colonello: distici latini a cura di A. Liberto* (Florentiae, 1903).
- OMAGGIO dei cappuccini toscani alla Vergine Immacolata: *raccolta di versi italiani e latini* (Florentiae, 1904).
- ORSINI, IOHANNES: *O Romae sanctitas!: discorso. Velum templi ...* (Reims, 1914): *versi* (Barcellonae, 1914).
- PACINI, AURELIUS: *In adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi: Eminentissimo*



- cardinali Alfonso Mariae Mistrangelo, Florentinorum archiepiscopo, ob fausta auspicia elegia* (Florentiae, 1928).
- PALADINO, BENEDICTUS: *Divini verbi praecones: carmen vera Christi religione omnium pacem pie deprecans* (Campi Ligurum, 1915).
- PANOCCHIA, PETRUS: *Hirundo; Erithacus; Ad Somnum: versi latini* (Interamna Praetutiorum, 1908).
- PAOLI, HUGO HENRICUS: *Carmen radiophonicum, die XVIII mensis Decembris A.D. MCMLIX cura et impensis fratrum Paoletti in aedibus F. Le Monnier Florentiae editum* (Florentiae, 1959); — *Ad Remorum urbem geminam Florentiae sororem* (Florentiae, 1954). Addita est interpretatio Francogallica.
- PARTISANI, IOSEPHUS: *Carmina* (Mirandulae, 1901).
- PECCI, MICHAEL: *Carmen nuptiale* (Romae, 1909).
- PELLEGRINI, IOSEPHUS: *Canzone del Volto santo latina, con traduzione in versi di G. Frediani* (Lucae, 1920).
- PERIN, IOSEPHUS: *Carminum et inscriptionum liber anno 1912 primum videtur divulgatus esse*.
- PERIN, IOSEPHUS — BROTTTO, PETRUS — SCREMINI, MAXIMUS: *Petro Zamburlini, archiepiscopo Utinensi, annum a sacerdotio inito quinquagesimum celebranti, carmina I.P., P.B., M.S.* (Patavii, 1907).
- PESENTI, IOHANNES BAPTISTA: *Puerilia eius* (66 pp.) anno ni fallor 1905 typis sunt excusa; — *Ruth. Ecloga Hebraea* (Mediolani, 1920).
- PETRICCIOLI, IOSEPHUS: *Quinto Idus Ianuarii: ode saffica latina e versione italiana di P.E. Marzocchi* (Florentiae, 1902); — *Scandinavia Clavarii prodiit*.
- PEZZULLO, CARMELUS: *De sacra B.M. Virginis imagine, quae sub titulo civitatis in Mamurrae oppido (in Campania) magna religione colitur carmen historicum* (Aversae, 1901).
- PIERMATTEI, CAMILLUS: *Juvenilia: versi latini* (Aveani, 1904); — *Carmina* (ibid., 1904).
- PIGHI, IOHANNES BAPTISTA: *Latinitas. Variorum scripta in Latinum conversa a Ioanne Baptista Gandino, Adulpho Gandiglio, aliis*, ed. I.B. Pighi (Novi Comi, 1944; Mediolani, 1955). Septima parte continentur carminum versiones Latinae Pighii, Gandiglii, Hartmanni Batavi.
- PODESTÀ, EMMANUEL: *Roma: carmen* (Spediae, 1907); — *Spes mea: carmen* (Romae, 1902; idem cum versione Italica, Spediae, 1902); — *Ad beatissimam Virginem Mariam sub titulo sacratissimi Rosarii invocatam carmen* (Spediae, 1901); — *Carmen ad navem cui nomen 'Regina Margarita'* (ibidem, eodem anno).
- POMPILI, DOMINICUS: *Poesie latine e italiane* (Romae, 1907<sup>2</sup>).
- PRATESI, PLINIUS: *In nuptias Bari-Gamurrini epigramma Graecum et epithalamium Latinum* (Florentiae, 1906); — *Ad Joh. Franciscum Gamurrinum carmen* (Aretii, 1907).
- PUCCINELLI, AUGUSTINUS: *Versi latini e italiani* (Lucae, 1905); — *A difesa delle mure di Lucca: carme latino e versione italiana in prosa* (ibidem, eodem anno).
- QUAGLIO, IOHANNES: *In magistratum crucifixum disticha* (Patavii, 1904); — *B. Gregorii Barbadici sanctitas copia et splendore patefacta signorum. Carme di*

- G. Q. recitato nella pubblica accademia tenuta nel Seminario di Padova in occasione del III centenario della nascita del beato Gregorio (Patavii, 1942).*
- QUATTRONE, FRANCISCUS: *Templum Dei pro lapide auspicali templi maximi Rhagini Juliensis rite ponundo carmen elegiacum* (Rhegi Iulii, 1917); — *Carmen, c.t. To marmorimon, tertium prodiit Messanae, 1920, addita interpretatione L. Nostro; quartum Rhegi Iulii, 1921, subiuncta versione P. Larizza.*
- RASI, PETRUS: *Roma: carme latino* (Romae, 1912).
- RAUZI, STEPHANUS: *Fluminis Symphonia* (H. 1960).
- RAVASI, IOSEPHUS: *Carmina* (Cremonae, 1910); — *Pentecoste. Ode hexamet. Manzoni Latine reddita* (Cremonae, 1929).
- RECANATESI, PAULUS: *Carmina sacra* (Recinetti, 1908).
- ROCCI, LAURENTIUS S.J.: *Luigi Rizzo, tenente di vascello, distruttore della 'Wien' nel porto di Trieste 10 dicembre 1917: carme latino* (Romae, Mediolani, Neapoli, 1918); — *Il mare nostrum e le imprese dei prodi italiani nell' Adriatico: secondo carme latino* (Mediolani, Romae, Neapoli, 1918); — *Carmina varia* (Romae, 1926); — *Nuove favole latine in versi senari secondo la maniera di Fedro* (Romae, 1927).
- ROCCO ASPRENAS, IANUARIUS: *Ad Leonem XIII pontificem optimum maximum* (Neapoli, 1901); — *Africa. Poema epicum* (Neapoli, 1908).
- ROTONDI, IOSEPHUS: *Carmina sua anno 1955 emisit.*
- RUSCAZIO, VICTORIUS: *Tramontano: Alcaicum carmen Mateolensi dicatum iuventuti* (Mateolae, 1909).
- SALANI, IOHANNES: *In Christum Dominum extrema patientem opprobria seque animis in sacramento augusto vitam et nutrimentum praebentem: carmen* (Lucae, 1915); — *Christo Redemptori ad vota pontificis maximi populorum pacem inhiantis explenda exorando auspice Christophoro martyre: bina carmina* (Lucae, 1916); — *In Stephanum primum Christi martyrem Pozzuolensis curiae praesidium et gloriam, carmina* (Lucae, 1917).
- SALATIELLO, IOSAEUS: *Intima, varia: versi latini* (Carali, 1916).
- SANTINI, ALOISIUS: *Divus Pontianus nudis pedibus prunas Fabiani iussu incolumis calcat tyranno irridens: carmen; Federico Barbarossa e gli spoletini: carme* (Spoleti, 1913).
- SAVEJO, SALVATOR: *Parva carmina* (Agrigenti, 1908).
- SCHETTINI, FRANCISCUS XAVERIUS: *Antonio Lamberti Cupersanensi episcopo excellentissimo seria dictu pauca: carmina* (Neapoli, 1916).
- SCOPA, IOSEPHUS: *Carmina (Vesuvius, Hexametri, Lyrica, Epigrammata, Epitaphia, in Canticum Canticorum paraphrasis)* (Neapoli, 1903).
- SILVI, FRANCISCUS: *Nozze d'argento: versi latini e italiani* (Verulis, 1911).
- SOFIA-ALESSIO, FRANCISCUS: *Carmina. Poesie latine con traduzione italiana* (Messanae, 1905).
- STAMPINI, HECTOR: *Ferii saecularibus R. Athenaei Taurinensis a.d. VI Kal. Nov. an. 1906* (Augustae Taurinorum, 1906); — *Ad Paulum Boselli elegi* (ibid., 1920); — *Nonnullae inscriptiones et disticha* (ibid., 1920).
- TABERINI, ALOISIUS: *Dux. Alcaica Latina con traduzione italiana dell' autore* (Anconae, 1931); — *Ad Anconam praeclaram fortemque urbem* (s.l., 1917).
- TINOZZI, DOMINICUS: *Carmen conviviale Francisco Paulo Tinozzi Dianae et*

- Minervae alumno praestantissimo* (Aterni, 1929). Addita est interpretatio Italica A. Illuminati; — *Inno alla pace seguito da un carme latino* del prof. Franc. VIVONA, e *da un epigramma latino e versioni metriche* del prof. Luigi ILLUMINATI (Atriae 1919); — *Trilogia Francescana* (Aterni, 1949). Versus Latini cum versione Italica.
- TONDINI, HAMLETUS: *Rerum scintillulae*. Prefazione di O. Tescari (Augustae Taurinorum, 1955).
- TOSI, P.: *Garibaldini hymni paraphrasis* (Prati, 1916).
- TRAPANESE, VINCENTIUS: *Cithara cordis* (Neapoli, 1957).
- TRILLINI, SEPTIMIUS AUGUSTUS: 'Per il monumento a Dante' e 'Bruto Minore', *canti di G. Leopardi tradotti in esametri latini* (Interamnae, 1900).
- TURCHETTI, FRANCISCUS: *La Immacolata Concezione: egloga con versione metrica italiana* di Giov. Collini (Utini, 1903).
- VALENTINUS, ANTONIUS: *Ad Romam, post quinquagesimum annum a Romae designatione et proclamatione in Italicam metropolim: carmen saeculare* (Romae, 1911); — *Dai Carmina e dai Carmi di A.V.* (Fulginiae, 1900).
- VERGHETTI, BLASIUS: *Inni latini, con la versione italiana, in lode del b. Andrea Conti, cittadino d'Anagni* (Fulginiae, 1903).
- VERLATO, CAESAR: *Carminum fasciculus* (Mediolani, 1943).
- VIGNOLI, CAROLUS: *Helena: carmen* (Verulis, 1910); — *Carmina* (Verulis, 1911); — *Carmina: materna corda, mortis hymnus; fabulae* (Verulis, 1913).
- VITALI, VIDO: *Lusus eius Mediolani quater (quantum scio) sunt editi, annis 1926, 1927, 1928, 1936*.
- ZANEI, IOHANNES: *Per il terremoto nelle Calabrie (settembre 1905): versi latini* (Roboreti, 1905).
- ZAPPACOSTA, GULIELMUS (1920-1976): *Homeri Odyssea. Liber 1. Versione in versi latini* (Interamnae, 1957); — *Certamina varia* (Interamnae, 1957); — *Carmina Romana* (ibid., eodem anno); — *Amoris nuntius* (ibidem, eodem anno).

#### NEDERLANDIA

- CORTEN, R.: *Divae Virginis Laudes*, ed. N. Alberts (Kerkrade, 1909 (?)).
- DAMSTÉ, PETRUS HELBERTUS: *Canticum in (...) F.C. Donders memoriam* (Traiecti ad Rhenum, 1921); — *Il natio villaggio. Dal carme latino premiato in oro nell' annuale concorso (...). Traduzione di A. Valentini* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1902). Additus est textus primigenius.
- FEESTBUNDEL Prof. Boot. *Verzameling van wetenschappelijke bijdragen den 17<sup>den</sup> Augustus (...) aangeboden bij gelegenheid van zijn negentigsten verjaardag (...)* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1901). Pp. 47-51 invenies HARTMANNI versiones duas, pp. 160-165 *Lusus Plautinos* TYRRELLI Angli.
- MEEUWESE, A.: *Ad praesulem* (St. Michielsgestel, 1915).
- NIJSSEN, I.M.: *Musa Sapphica seu trifolium multigenum (...) ad usum humaniorum* (Sittardiae, 1902).
- VAN WAGENINGEN, IACOBUS: *Oda in Julianam* (Groningae, 1909); — *In memoriam collegarum* (Groningae, ed. priv., 1909).
- VAN WESSEM, HADRIANUS: *Propempticon ad virum integerrimum J.D. Pasteur*

(...) *quum iudicis officium in Tribunali Harlemensi auspicaturus Tielam relinqueret* (Tielae, ed. priv., 1905).

VAN IJZEREN, IOHANNES: ΕΓΚΙΑΣ. *Carmen heroicum*, in P. de Jonge et al. (edd.), *Ut pictura poesis. Studia Latina Petro Johanni Enk septuagenario oblata* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1955), pp. 1-6.

#### RUSSIA

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#### TAPROBANE

DE SILVA, L. W.: *A Garland of the Muses* (Columbi, 1958).

R.J. SCHOECK with Martina RÜTT and H.-W. BARTZ

A STEP TOWARDS A NEO-LATIN LEXICON:  
A FIRST WORD-LIST DRAWN FROM  
*HUMANISTICA LOVANIENSIA*

HISTORY OF THE PROJECT

At the 1988 International Association for Neo-Latin Studies (IANLS) in Toronto, Prof. Jozef IJsewijn and I put forth before the entire membership of IANLS the concept of a word-list of Renaissance Latin (or Neo-Latin) and asked that the Association formally give support to the project. The concept was approved in a Business Meeting of the entire membership, and there was then a workshop on further details of the proposal, attended by some two dozen scholars, from whose number a committee was formed, which I was to chair.

At Toronto there was unanimous agreement that a considerable number of new words and meanings were generated during the period of Renaissance humanism, and that Renaissance and Reformation studies urgently need a lexicon as a scholarly tool<sup>1</sup>. In the workshop a gratifyingly large number of scholars from different disciplines volunteered to work with a Neo-Latin lexicon project.

In consultation with Jozef IJsewijn and in liaison with Roger Green (who has received a grant from the British Academy to support a glossary of British Neo-Latin), I set to work at Trier to provide at least the first instalment of a word-list; this has been done with the support of then-Dean Professor Walter Röhl and President Jörg Hasler, which

<sup>1</sup> The need has been felt for many years. Twenty-five years ago Prof. Paul W. Blackford announced his proposal for a Neo-Latin lexicon, in *Renaissance News* 7 (1954), 160-162, but his project has fallen into abeyance — see further *Neo-Latin News* 6 (1960), n. 17. Another concept has been described by G. Stabile, “Per un Thesaurus mediae et recentioris Latinitatis. Un’ iniziativa del Lessico Intellettuale Europeo”, *Studi Medievali* 23 (1982), 441-445.

\* following the practice in *Humanistica Lovaniensia*, the asterisk is used to indicate instances where the word may be found in the standard medieval dictionaries.

provided the invaluable assistance of two advanced students in classics, Martina Rütt and H.-W. Bartz. Their enthusiasm and professional dedication has been invaluable. For the solution of a number of problems in programming and printing we are grateful to Dr. Michael Trauth (Programmberatung, Geschichte, Universität Trier) for his generous giving of time and counsel.

It was decided that it would be most feasible to begin with a readily available listing of Neo-Latin words, and the annual lists in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* seemed to be admirable for this stage of the project, being both manageable and representative. Accordingly, this first word-list of Neo-Latin incorporates the annual lists ('Instrumentum Lexicographicum') which appeared in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* from volume 22 (1973) to volume 33 (1984).

As is the case with any lexical project and with any computer-generated effort, considerable time and energy were required to investigate the various hardware and software programmes available, having in mind as a very general model the *Medieval Latin Word-List* prepared by J.H. Baxter and others (1934), but with a number of modifications. After much trial and error, the software programme selected was TUSTEP (Tübingen), which has been found to provide the desired type-faces and other implementation desirable for such a lexical purpose.

The compilation was begun by Frau Rütt, and Herr Bartz has joined the team; etymologies are altogether their effort. One would indeed be quite optimistic to echo Erasmus' *principium dimidium totius* (*Adag.* I.ii.39); but we can say "that was the beginning for us," and we hope that it will make the continuing work more easy.

### FUTURE LINES OF WORK

Communication from individual scholars on this preliminary list will of course be most welcome. One needs to consider all possible uses of a Neo-Latin word list, and one will value all experience in like or related enterprises. A second list of words from M to Z will appear in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* in 1991, and together they will constitute a beginning. We hope that it will prove to be a significant one.

It is planned that at the IANLS Congress in Copenhagen (1991) there will be a workshop on the Neo-Latin lexicon. This will be an opportunity to exchange news of progress in other quarters, and at

that workshop the format, scope, criteria and organization for an enlargement of this list can be fully discussed. It is to be hoped that from these beginnings a more formal project — with the cooperation of the St. Andrews project — will be set in place. *Cursu lampada trado* (*Adag.* I. ii. 38).

The scope of this first list is that of the *Humanistica Lovaniensia* itself, which covers a wide spectrum of writings in Neo-Latin. It will be very quickly perceived that the texts which provide the entries in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* are English as well as Continental, and that in the latter category there are German, Italian, French, “Belgian”, Dutch, Polish and other texts. Even this first word-list demonstrates the international character of Neo-Latin during the Renaissance period, and that characteristic continues into the seventeenth century examples cited.

For the more permanent lexicon it will have to be determined with some precision and firmness what the chronological limits are to be, and what range of texts are to be used as the bases for the lexicon. At this stage it appears that the *terminus a quo* ought to be at least as early as 1400, and the *terminus ad quem* at least as late as 1700 — but arguments can be made for earlier and later dates. A much more difficult problem is the determination of principles of inclusion and exclusion: will only humanistic texts be included? What about medical and other scientific writings? What about legal literature? The preliminary evidence in this word-list would appear to point towards greater inclusiveness; but such a decision needs further study and discussion.

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Sulimircenus s. Klonowic

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Zevecotius, Jacobus: *Maria Stuarta/Maria Graeca, Tragoedia*. Antwerp 1623

### Word-List

**academiola** (gr. Ἀκαδημία) subst.: **study (room)** *ex academiola mea* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to Johannello Sulimena. middle of 15th cent.? *HL* 29 (1980) 142.

**aconitum Peruvianum** subst.: **tobacco sulphurea-que nubila ... Peruviani (quod Tobacchon dictitant) aconiti** || Charles Fitzgeffrey: In *Lytum* v. 7 in: *Affaniae sive Epigrammatum libri tres*. Oxford 1601. *HL* 26 (1977) 116.

**addicticius** adj.: **addicted to** *dicis te ... religionis, cui addictitius es, ... praetextu non posse ovibus praesentiam servitutis tuae vigilem exhibere* || Briçonnet (1520) d.i.v *HL* 27 (1978) 122.

**adiectivare** verb: **to make an adjective** *Marsus eris nostris numeris, Harmonius inde adiectivabo, quasque mereris opes* || Daniele Gaetani: *Ad Harmonium Marsum*. ≈ 1527, v. 13 *HL-S* 1 (1978) 2.

\***admirallus** s. amirallus

**adpungere** verb: **to punctuate** *responsionem ... adpunxi, descripsi, et typis mandavi* || Nancelius (1599) § 3 *HL* 24 (1975) 220.

\***aequipendium** subst.: **balance** *verum si aequipendio utrunque libraretur, dignitatis esset abitio potius quam ambitio* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iii<sup>r</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 125.

**agnifer** adj: **lamb-bearing** *agnifer [sic] hirsutis sic velans pellibus artus* || Mure (1526) v. 225 *HL* 28 (1979) 207.

**agrestio** subst.: **boor** *quadrate, sordide, lutulente agrestio* || Macropedius (1538) v. 296 *HL* 31 (1982) 92.

**alcaea** (gr. Ἀλκαία) subst.: **tail** *tergus alcaeâ ferit* || Zevecotius (1623) v. 697 *HL* 22 (1973) 298.

**alphabeticus** (gr. ἀλφαβητικός) adj.: **alphabetical** Johannes Argentinein: *Loci communes, seu liber de morbis et medicinis, ordine alphabetico depositis*. ≈ 1470 *HL* 33 (1984) 76.

\***altiloquus** adj.: **grandiloquent** *vatibus altiloquis quoniam maiora relinquo* || Mure (1526) v. 545 *HL* 28 (1979) 217.

- Americanus** (ital. deduced from Amerigo Vespucci) adj.: **American** *americanum portentum* || Francisco Javier Alegre: *Lyrica quaedam et Georgica etiam in Americanum portentum Mariam V. de Guadelupe*. 18th cent. *HL* 30 (1981) 148.
- \***amirallius** [**admirallus**] (arab. amir) subst.: **admiral** *Epicedion ... Casparis (Coligni) Castilionaei, amiralli Galliae* || Anon. *Epicedion ... Casparis (Coligni) Castilionaei ... Parisiis ... trucidati*. 1572 *HL* 23 (1974) 408.  
Found in: Kaiser L.M., "John Leverett and the Quebec Expedition of 1711: An Unpublished Latin Oration". *Harvard Library Bulletin* xxii (1974), 309-316. *HL* 24 (1975) 359.
- anagramma** (gr. ἀναγραμματίζειν) subst.: **letter transposition** *tam cito non calamum potuisti sumere, quin hoc anagramma prodiret foras* || Melissus *Acanthae?* (1593) v. 18 *HL* 22 (1973) 231.
- anagrammatismus** (gr. ἀναγραμματισμός) subst.: **play of letter transposition** *quid per anagrammatismum reperias in hoc versu* || Melissus (1593) *HL* 22 (1973) 230.
- \***angelulus** (gr. ἄγγελος) subst.: **little angel, baby** *protulit angelulos, pignora cara, duos* || Bernardino Dardano: *Epitaphium Mariae Marchionissae Montisfer-rati*. 1495 v. 8 *HL* 26 (1977) 68.
- agnifer s. agnifer
- animalenlum** (vox 'animalenlum' mihi nata videtur ex errore palaeographico pro 'animalculo'. J. IJsewijn, *HL* 33 (1984) 323) subst. Found in: R. Pitkä-ranta: 'Lexikalisches zu einigen naturwissenschaftlichen Dissertationen Finnlands von 1665-1761'. *Arctos* 16 (1982) 148 *HL* 33 (1984) 323.
- \***anitergium** (lat. anus + tergere) subst.: **lavatory paper** *libelluli ... quos ... anitergij nonnumquam loco habiturus siem* || Clarke (1632) p. 381 *HL* 25 (1976) 272.
- \***antelatio** subst.: **priority** *de principatu seu antelatione Marianaе gratiae* || Francisco Javier Lazcano: *Opusculum theophilosophicum de principatu seu antelatione Marianaе gratiae*. Mexico 1755 *HL* 30 (1981) 153.
- antichristianus** subst. and adj.: **antichristian** *qui non odio plusquam tyrannico (anti - Christiano scilicet) prosequuntur* || Leverett (1689) 81 *HL* 24 (1975) 332. *atque scholas, academias, eruditionem liberalem Antichristiani sui scilicet, si videtur, insinuent* || Leverett (1689) 84 *HL* 24 (1975) 336.
- apophthegmaticus** (gr. ἀποφθεγματικός) adj.: **apophthegmatic** G.P. Harsdörfer: *Ars apophthegmatica*. Nürnberg 1655-1656 *HL* 31 (1982) 222.
- \***appendiciarius** (lat. appendix) adj.: **additional** Anon.: *Libri appendiciarii bibliothecae Scriverianae* .... Amsterdam 1663 *HL* 32 (1983) 402.
- Aquae Traiani** subst.: **Aachen** *Aquas Traiani vidit Coloniamque Agrippinam* || Aedicollus (1508) 1.40 *HL* 29 (1980) 173.
- Aquilupianus** adj.: **of Guadelupe** Andreas Resendius: *Votum Divae Virginis Aquilupianae*. Nat. Libr. Lisbon ms F.G.6368, first half of 16th cent. *HL* 28 (1979) 359.
- \***archidux** subst.: **archduke** *ad ... Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae* || Johannes Fabri: *Ad Serenissimum Principem Ferdinandum Archiducem Austriae Mos-covitarum iuxta mare Glaciale religio*. Tubingae 1525 *HL* 31 (1982) 145.

- Regis Archiducis Austriae etc. Consiliario* || Herberstein (1549) *HL* 31 (1982) 154.
- archipraesul** subst.: **archbishop** *Generosissimo Domino Alexandro Steuart, Divi Andreae archipraesuli et totius Scotiae primati* || Foullis (1512) praef. § 1 *HL* 24 (1975) 106. *primas archipraesul reverendissime* || Foullis (1512) praef. § 1 *HL* 24 (1975) 106. *archipraesuli et totius Scotiae primati meritissimo* || Foullis (1512) praef. § 5 *HL* 24 (1975) 107.
- \***architypographus** (gr. ἀρχιτυπογράφος) subst.: **archprinter** *Christophorus Plantinus, Architypographus Regius* || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Saulus Conversus*. Antwerp 1581, colophon *HL* 32 (1983) 399. *Christophorus Plantinus, Architypographus Regius* || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Naaman*. Antwerp 1581, colophon *HL* 32 (1983) 400.
- arctus** = arcitus (from arcere?) adj.: *scandit et etherios arctus ab orbe lares* || Mure (1526) v. 478 *HL* 28 (1979) 215.
- areatim** (lat. area, -ae f. < arere) adv.: **[sown] with beds** *Hortum ..., quem selectoribus plantis, herbis salubribus, suavissimisque <ar>boribus areatim sevimus* || Clarke (1632) p. 377 *HL* 25 (1976) 266.
- arithmeticalis** (gr. ἀριθμητικός) adj.: **arithmetical cantus arithmeticalis** || Argentein (1470) v. 80 *HL* 33 (1984) 82.
- ascititius** (lat. asciscere) adj.: **co-opted** *Rhetorice pridem ab Audomaro Talaeo Rami collega et populari cive, et fratre adoptivo ascitioque, in vulgus edita fuerat* || Nancelius (1599) § 40 *HL* 24 (1975) 216.
- \***astiludium** s. hastiludium
- astronomicalis** (gr. ἀστρονομικός) adj.: **astronomical cantus astronomicalis** || Argentein (1470) v. 106 *HL* 33 (1984) 83.
- \***astronomice** (s. astronomicalis) adv.: **astronomically** *Tralationem et Sphaerae et Hypothesium Latinam feci planam, et plenam, atque (ut Astronomice loquar) dilucidam* || John Bainbridge: *Proclus, Sphaera*. 1620 praef. *HL* 27 (1978) 155.
- audaculus** adj.: **daringly nimis ergo ... audacule tibi frontem perfricuisti** || Foullis (1512) praef. § 6 *HL* 24 (1975) 107.
- aurisonus** adj.: **golden velleris aurisoni praeses ob acta fuit** || Erasmus: epitaph for Henry of Bergen. 1503 v. 14 *HL* 33 (1984) 114.
- aurivomus** (lat. vomere) adj.: **showering gold (light) alipedes premitit equos, curruque sequutus aurivomo** || Foullis (1512) B3 v. 75 *HL* 24 (1975) 137.
- aurora borealis** (gr. βορέας) adj.: **northern lights phaenomenon hocce Auroram Borealem vocat** || Stettler, 9 Nov. 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 230.
- \***Austria** subst.: **Austria** *Albertus dux Austriae* || Aedicollus (1508) 1.9 *HL* 29 (1980) 172.
- \***Austriacus** adj.: **Austrian** *ab quottidianis Austriaci fisci negotiis respirans* || Herberstein (1549) praef. *HL* 31 (1982) 145.
- autographium** (gr. αὐτόγραφος) subst.: **handwritten words quod autographiis et lituris ... illegibilis esset** || Vincentius Hortensius: letter to S.v. Herberstein. 1549 *HL* 31 (1982) 147.
- avidulus** adj.: **a little bit greedy rationem gloriolae mee, cuius avidulus sum** || Agnoletti (1396) f.82<sup>v</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 10.

- \*baccalaureatus** -us subst.: **bachelor's degree** *Oratio in baccalaureatu Domini Dyonisii de Montmorency* || Anthonius Haneron: *Oratio de laudem legum* .... Louvain ≈ 1435 *HL* 27 (1978) 13.
- \*baccalaureus** [**bacchalaureus**] (fort. a gall. **\*bakkano** 'rusticus'; Mittellatein. Wb.) subst.: **bachelor** *apud Mechlinienses unicus nunc est Theologus Doctor* ..., *Baccalaurei complures* || Verepaeus (1574) § 33 *HL* 23 (1974) 299. *vulgo quod audit arte Bacchalaureus superbienteis erigit cristas Lytus* || Charles Fitzgeffrey: In Lytum v. 1 in: *Affaniae sive Epigrammatum libri tres*. Oxford 1601. *HL* 26 (1977) 115. *pro Bacchalaureus(!) Tobacchalaureus* || Charles Fitzgeffrey: In Lytum v. 15 in: *Affaniae sive Epigrammatum libri tres*. Oxford 1601. *HL* 26 (1977) 116. *Dominus Baumont, baccalaureus Sorbonicus* || Wallin (1722) p. 54 *HL* 28 (1979) 267.
- \*baccalaureus formatus** adj.: **graduated bachelor** *receptus denique in socium Sorbonicum et formatus bacchalaureus* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: *Vita Ioannis Dullardi* § 4. In: Iohannes Dullardus: *Expositio in libros Meteorum*. Paris <sup>2</sup>1514 *HL* 26 (1977) 94.
- balbiloquus** (lat. balbus < gr. βάββαρος) adj.: **stammering** *barbaricas ... catervas, balbiloquas ... manus* || Juan A. González: *De origine et laudibus Poesos Sylva* ... Valencia? 1525 v. 350 *HL* 25 (1976) 219.
- balivus** (mlat. baiulus) subst.: **bailiff** *Domne balive* || Anon. Traiect. laus v. 207 *HL* 23 (1974) 211.
- banana** subst.: **banana** *pascere malo citrino, banana* || Daniel Restrepo: poems. Colombia 20th cent. *HL* 24 (1975) 318.
- \*baro** (ahd. baro) subst.: **baron** *Illustrissimo Domino D. Claudio D'Ongnyes, Baroni de Hoboke* || Zevecotius (1623) praef. *HL* 22 (1973) 273.
- \*baro, liber baro**: **'Freiherr'** *commentarii Sigismundi liberi baronis in Herberstain* || Herberstein (<sup>2</sup>1551 + <sup>3</sup>1556) *HL* 31 (1982) 141. Sigmund v. Herberstein: *Gratae posteritati Sigismundus Liber Baro ... actiones suas reliquit*. Viennae 1560 *HL* 31 (1982) 153. *nobili et magnifico domino Johannigeorgio Paungartner ... Sigismundus Liber Baro In Herberstain* || Herberstein (1549) dedication *HL* 31 (1982) 154.
- \*baronissa** (s. baro) subst.: **baroness** Anon. *Epitaphium Evae Johannaе baronissae de Martinitz*. Rome 17th cent. *HL* 32 (1983) 458.
- basis s. bassus
- \*bassus** [**basis**] (mlat. bassus) subst.: **bass (voice)** *vox gravis, aut graviore paulo altior (inter basin et tenorem media)* || Nancelius (1599) § 48 *HL* 24 (1975) 228. *bassus ego Breynet mitto tibi pignus amoris* || Laurentius Breynet: *Musica gratulatoria*. Louvain 1603. *HL* 30 (1981) 241.
- \*beatificatio** subst.: **beatification** *ut ex Mariannae a Jesu Beatificatione gaudia concipiat* || Manuel José Proaño: *Hortatio ad Societatem Jesu*. Quito ≈ 1860 *HL* 27 (1978) 261.
- Belgia** -ae subst.: **the Low Countries** *Belgia illi est pro Belgio. Sic Gallium posset dicere pro Gallia* || Claude Salmasius (de Saumaise): *Ad Johannem Miltonem Responsio* (≈ 1652). Publ. London 1660 p. 5 *HL* 27 (1978) 245. Carolus Stephanus: *Dictionarium Historicum, Geographicum, Poeticum*. Paris 1553 s.v. *HL* 27 (1978) 251.

- beneficens** adj.: **beneficent** Found in: Kaiser L.M., “John Leverett and the Quebec Expedition of 1711: An Unpublished Latin Oration”, *Harvard Library Bulletin* xxii (1974), 309-316. *HL* 24 (1975) 359.
- bibesius** = ‘biberius’ subst. *Ubi modo meus bibesius?* || *Macropedius* (1538) v. 457 *HL* 31 (1982) 97.
- bibliopegus** (gr. βιβλιοπηγός) subst.: **bookbinder** *ut minentur bibliopecti se Des-pauterii Grammaticam denuo administraturos* || *Verepaeus* (1592) §2 *HL* 23 (1974) 331. *schedae a ... bibliopecto ... peti possunt* || *Stettler*, 17 Mai 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 222.
- \*bibliopolium** (gr. βιβλιοπωλεῖον) subst.: **book shop** *manuscriptum viderant in typographio & bibliopolio* || *Clarke* (1632) p. 384 *HL* 25 (1976) 276.
- bibliothecariolus** (gr. βιβλιοθηκάριος) subst.: **petty librarian** *perfecto non ea laborant animi gravitate et aegritudine morum, qua infectos nonnullos deprehendi alibi bibliothecarios* || *Wallin* (1722) p. 125 *HL* 28 (1979) 277.
- \*bidellus** (ahd. bitil) subst.: **bedel** *per bidellos universitatis* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi. Parte Antica*, 434. Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 73.
- bipartitu** = **bipartito** adv.: **through double partition** *ductus paries ad celsi culmina tecti summa bipartitu geminasque subinde diremptu ex una facit esse domos* || *Antun Karamaneo: Carmen ad Jacobum Candidum*. Vis 1712, v. 81 *HL* 29 (1980) 254.
- bombarda** (gr. βόμβος) subst.: **gun** *pars bombardarum satagit provolvere moles* || *Torrentius I* (1542) v. 35 *HL* 22 (1973) 155. *redduntque tonitrua saeva Bombardae* || *Torrentius I* (1542) v. 112 *HL* 22 (1973) 157. *procul aut bombardam repellat* || *Torrentius II* (1542) v. 1 *HL* 22 (1973) 158. *haec, bombardam dum iaculantes intendunt semel ac iterum frustra* || *Rhellicanus* (1555) v. 79 *HL* 32 (1983) 222. *donec confisa lapillo bombardae scopulo cecidit tum proniter alto* || *Rhellicanus* (1555) v. 81 *HL* 32 (1983) 223.
- bombardicus** (gr., s. bombardam) adj.: **gunpowder-** *In Proditionem Bombardicam* || *Milton* (1626) *HL* 22 (1973) 322.
- Brasilia** subst.: **Brazil** *fallor, an ... notescam ... Brasiliaeque terris* || *Melissus* (1591) v. 32 *HL* 30 (1981) 195.
- breviarium** subst.: **breviary** *nisi forte matutinas ex breviario, dum missae adesset quotidiae, produceret longius* || *Nancelius* (1599) §53 *HL* 24 (1975) 236.
- bumulgus** (gr. βουμολγός) adj.: **cow-milking** *accelerat bumulga iuventus lactea dona ferens mulctris tenuesque placentas* || *Rhellicanus* (1555) v. 62 *HL* 32 (1983) 222.
- \*burggravius** (ahd. burggravo) subst.: **burgrave** *Erasmus Köselerus: Propempticon ... Fabiano Burggravio et Baroni a Dhona*. Wittenberg 1570 *HL* 23 (1974) 407.
- bursarius** (lat. bursa) subst.: **bursar, bursary scholar** *et inter duodecim pueros alumnos ... mihi adhuc puero locus illic sortito obtigit [ms alumnos “(bursarios vocant)"]* || *Nancelius* (1599) §17 *HL* 24 (1975) 186. *Hamelio praeceptorum puerorum scholae Praelleae alumnorum (bursarios vocant) hanc dedit provinciam* || *Nancelius* (1599) §32 *HL* 24 (1975) 206. *videlicet bursarii domestici pueri alumnique* || *Nancelius* (1599) §52 *HL* 24 (1975) 236. 12 *bursarii Praellei* || *Nancelius* (1599) §57 *HL* 24 (1975) 242. *hic reliquis*

- bursariis collegis optantibus legentibusque, in gymnasiarcham ... erigebatur* || Nancelius (1599) § 57 *HL* 24 (1975) 242.
- caelifuga** adj.: **flying from heaven** *coelifugam quae cluere Deum* || John Milton: *Elegia* VI, 10, 1629 *HL* 27 (1978) 250.
- caelivagus** adj.: **wandering in the sky** *multa virtute choruscans culmina coelivagis nubibus equa levat* || Mure (1526) v. 49 *HL* 28 (1979) 202.
- \*caerimoniarius liber** adj.: **ceremonial** *exemplar missale vel ceremoniarius alius liber* || Ferdinand I: letter to S.v. Herberstein. prob. 1526 *HL* 31 (1982) 144.
- caffaeum** (arab. qahwa) subst.: **coffee** *Carmen Caffaeum*, poem of Gulielmus Massiaeus 1718, ed. Cl. Fischer, *Vox Latina* 12 (Saarbrücken 1976), 245-252 *HL* 26 (1977) 249.
- calentura** (lat. calere) subst.: **tropic disease** *namque calenturam potio nulla levat* || Anon.: *In obitum Josephi Norris*, v. 10. N-America after 1733 *HL* 23 (1974) 373.
- \*campanile** (lat. campana) subst.: **bell-tower** *habet campanile, immensa altitudine sublatum* || H. Boethius (1522) 95.10 *HL* 28 (1979) 229.
- \*camphora** (arab. kafur) subst.: **camphor** *de Viribus Camphorae* || Corbin Griffin: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis, de Viribus Camphorae*. Edinburgh 1765 *HL* 31 (1982) 179.
- \*Campinia** subst.; **Kempen (region in Central Brabant)** *Campinia Macra vocata* || Henricus de Oesterwijk: *Laus Brabantiae*. Louvain ≈ 1430 *HL* 31 (1982) 192.
- \*canna** (= Dutch kan) subst.: **jug** *Gerardo Bachusio ludimagistro dantur quatuor canne vini ...; ludimagistro ob egregie actam Aululariam dentur quatuor canne vini* || *Acta Capituli* (to 31.8.1524 and 28.8.1525): A.C. De Schrevel, *Histoire du séminaire de Bruges*. Bruges 1895 I, 134 *HL* 23 (1974) 43.
- \*canonicus** (gr. κανονικός) subst.: **canon** *ut iure dicantur nonnulli canonici nostri temporis instabiles potius quam resides* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iir *HL* 27 (1978) 123. *Silvester Pardo, S. Theolog. Licentiat, Cathedr. Eccles. Antverp. Canonicus* || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Terentius Christianus seu Comicae Sacrae sex*. Antwerp 1598 Y5<sup>r</sup> *HL* 33 (1984) 217.
- Cantabrigia Nov-Anglorum** subst.: **Cambridge Mass.** *Urian Oakes: Oratio Prima Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum in Comitiiis Academicis Habita*. Cambridge 1672 *HL* 31 (1982) 169. *scripta a ... nec non Collegii Harvardini Quod Est Cantabrigiae Nov-Anglorum Rectore* || Increase Mather: *De Successu Evangelii apud Indos in Nova-Anglia Epistola ad Cl. Virum D. Johannem Leusdenum* .... London 1688 *HL* 31 (1982) 171. Benjamin Waterhouse: *Oratio Inauguralis quam in Academia Harvardiana, Cantabrigiae Novanglorum ... A.D. MDCCLXXXIII, Habuit* .... Cambridge 1829 *HL* 31 (1982) 183.
- Cantabrigiensis** adj.: **of Cambridge Mass.** *Samuel Whiting: Oratio Quam comitiis Cantabrigiensibus Americanis Peroravit ... Anno MDCXLIX*. Boston 1709 *HL* 31 (1982) 168. Nathaniel Rogers: *Oratio Comitiiis Cantabrigiensibus Nov-Anglorum Habita Anno Domini 1652*. *HL* 31 (1982) 168.
- capellanus** subst.: **chaplain** *in gymnasiarcham ... eligebaturque, suffragantibus*

- Sacellano seu Capellano dicto et Procuratore domus* || Nancelius (1599) § 57 *HL* 24 (1975) 242.
- \*capitaneus** subst.: **'starost'** (Poland), **Polish Governor** *Domino Joanni de Zamoscio ... Janoroviensi etc. Capitaneo* || David Heliconius: preface (1594) to Daniel Hermannus: *Poemata Academica, Aulica, Bellica*. Riga 1614 *HL* 26 (1977) 207. *Meleti: Nicolas Mielecki (†1585), staroste de Chmielnik (capitaneus Chmielnicensis)* || Z. Glombiowska: *La première versio des Elégiés de J. Kochanowski*. *HL* 27 (1978) 178-230 *HL* 27 (1978) 228. *Tecini: Jean Baptiste Teczynski (vers 1540-1562), palatin de Belz (palatinus Belsensis) et staroste de Lublin (capitaneus Lublinensis)* || Z. Glombiowska: *La première versio des Elégiés de J. Kochanowski*. *HL* 27 (1978) 178-230 *HL* 27 (1978) 229 || *misit mihi ad Capitaneum illum, cuius in potestate istae sunt bestiae*: Severyn Boner: letter to S.v. Herberstein. 1541 *HL* 31 (1982) 144.
- caprissare** (lat. capra) verb: **to be lecherous** *non hic agrestis erat homo, ut qui noverit Vetulae caprissantis vorare viatica* || Chilius (1533) v. 1058 *HL* 23 (1974) 114.
- \*caputium** subst.: **cloak** *assumptio capucii* || Agostino Sottili: *Le contestate elezioni rettorali ...* In: *HL* 31 (1982), 38. cf. Gerardus Collus: letter to Galeatius M. Sforza. Pavia 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 38, 41, 42; 64, 65
- cardillus** (lat. carduelis) subst.: **a bird** *ei cardillum rapuisti* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to his brother Adrianus. middle of 15th cent.? *HL* 29 (1980) 131.
- \*cardinalis** (s. cardineus) subst.: **a cardinal** *Georgius de Ambasia, cardinalis legatus* || Anon. distich on Georgius de Ambasia. BN de Paris ms 22558 f.39<sup>r</sup> (≈1700) *HL* 26 (1977) 64. *familiaritas cum Iohanne de Columna cardinale* || Aedicollius (1508) 1.34, 1.70 *HL* 29 (1980) 173, 174.
- \*cardineus pater** (lat. cardo) adj.: **cardinal** *ergo purpureo velatus tempora panno inter cardineos scribitur patres* || Antonius Sylviolus (Forestier): *Ad reverendum ... Georgium Ambasianum ... Elegia de generis nobilitate*, v. 161. In: *ibid. Sylvula*. Papie 1508 *HL* 26 (1977) 63.
- Carmelita** subst.: **Carmelite** *apud Mechlinienses unicus nunc est Theologus Doctor, Carmelitarum prior ..., et unus Carmelita* || Verepaeus (1574) § 33 *HL* 23 (1974) 299.
- carni-valedicens** subst.: **carnival reveller** *larvati carni-vale-dicentium chori nocturnaque Bacchantium festa* || Wallin (1722) p. 114 *HL* 28 (1979) 273.
- \*carnisprivium** (tempus quo carnibus privari debet Christianus, s. Du Cange) subst.: **Shrovetide** *optabam te in hoc carnisprivio ad me conferre* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to Matteo d'Afflito. middle of 15th cent.? *HL* 29 (1980) 134.
- carpsor** = carptor subst. *dicunt enim eum carpsorem mordacemque omnium* || Mattia Lupi (1380-1468). Vat. latin. ms 14415 f.32<sup>v</sup> *HL* 33 (1984) 16.
- \*carthusiensis** (Chartreuse, near Grenoble, France + mhd. hūs) subst.: **chartusian** *carthusiensium ordini se devovit* || Aedicollius (1508) 1.74 *HL* 29 (1980) 174.
- \*castellanus** subst.: **'kasztelan'** (Poland) *Christophore: Jean Christophe Tarnowski (†1567) châtelain de Wojnicz (castellanus Voinicensis)* || Z. Glom-

- biowska: *La première versio des Elégies de J. Kochanowski*. HL 27 (1978) 178-230 HL 27 (1978) 227.
- catachysma** (gr. κατάχυσμα) subst.: **a showering (of nuts etc.)** *catachysmata haec, ut moris est, defundam in hoc tuum caput* || Chilius (1533) v. 815 HL 23 (1974) 100.
- catapulta** (gr. καταπέλτης) subst.: **gun** *catapulta duplici globo ferreo armata et instructa* || Nancelius (1599) § 75 HL 24 (1975) 268.
- \*catechisticus** (gr. κατηχίζειν) adj.: **catechetic** *quales praeter multorum libellos catechisticos ... sunt quorundam etiam Grammaticae* || Verepaeus (1590) § 5 HL 23 (1974) 317.
- \*cathedralis ecclesia** (gr. καθέδρα + ἐκκλησία) adj.: **cathedral** *ecclesie cathedralis archidiaconus designatur* || Aedicollus (1508) 1.71 HL 29 (1980) 174.
- causonica febris** (gr. καύσων) adj.: **hot fever** *ut licet in causonica febre phrenesi sint furentes* || Briçonnet (1519) c.iii<sup>r</sup> HL 27 (1978) 102.
- cellita** (lat. cella) subst.: **cell-brother** *procedat ..., Augustine, idiotas cellitas, populum tuum* || Anon. Traiect. laus v. 216 HL 23 (1974) 212.
- Celtigena** subst.: **son of a Celt** *in quantum honorem Celtigenas apud fuisse Bardos* || Melissus (1591) v. 5 HL 30 (1981) 195.
- centonicum (carmen)** (gr. κέντρων) subst.: **cento** *centonicum Virgilianum* || Bernardo de Riofrio: *Centonicum Virgilianum*. Mexico 1680 HL 30 (1981) 139.
- chalcographicus** (s. chalcographus) adj.: **of the printer** *ita tamen, ut aliquot menda chalcographica (ut fere fit) propter nostram absentiam contraxerint* || Nicolaus Nancelius: *Nancelii ... Declamationum liber*. Paris 1599, praef. HL 24 (1975) 165.
- chalcographus** (gr. χαλκογράφος) subst.: **printer** *si practicam ... calchographis traderem imprimendam* || Gonsalvo de Toledo: *Tractatus celeberrimus de febribus litteratissimi doctoris Marsilii de Sancta Sophia Patavini*. Lyon 1507, introd. HL 24 (1975) 76. *librum ... imprimendum Lugduni chalcographis commisisti* || Symphorien Champier: *Liber de quadruplici vita*. Lyon 1507, ff. G.iiii<sup>v</sup>-G.v<sup>r</sup> (letter of Gonsalvo de Toledo) HL 24 (1975) 77. *Pauli Veneti librum ... calcographis tradit* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: letter to Ioannes Fortis. Paris 1514 § 1 HL 26 (1977) 93. *libellum hunc dare calcographis imprimendum non erubui* || Iohannes Dullaert: letter to his students. In: *Summa philosophie naturalis clarissimi philosophi Pauli Veneti ...* Paris 1513 § 3 HL 26 (1977) 96. *questiones ... impresse vero Parrhisius a Thomas Kees wesaliense calcographo expertissimo* || Iohannes Dullardus: *Expositio in libros Meteorum*. Paris <sup>2</sup>1514 colophon HL 26 (1977) 98. *ut sunt apud nos chalcographi* || Wolfgang Lazius: letter to Johannes Oporinus. In: S.v. Herberstein (<sup>2</sup>1551) HL 31 (1982) 153.
- chalcotypus** (gr. χαλκοτύπος) subst.: **printer** *Ulrico Morhardo industrio Bibliopolae ac Chalcotypo* || Johannes L. Brassicanus: letter to Ferdinand I. Speyer 1544 HL 31 (1982) 151.
- charopus** (gr. χαροπός) adj.: **bright** *oculis [charopis vel utcumque] nigricantibus* || Nancelius (1599) § 47 HL 24 (1975) 228.
- chartographus** (gr. χαρτογράφος) subst.: **cartographer** *Catalogus cartographo-*



- rum* || Abraham Ortelius: *Theatrum orbis terrarum*. Antwerp 1570 *HL* 31 (1982) 148.
- cheopina** (gr. χέω) subst.: ‘**chopine**’ (French) *potio vini ... quam cheopinam Graeca imitatione dicimus* (ἀπὸ τοῦ χέειν καὶ πίνειν) || Nancelius (1599) § 49 *HL* 24 (1975) 230.
- chocolata** (Nahuatl: chocolatl) subst.: **chocolate** *chocolatae potionem* || Stettler, 7 Dec. 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 233.
- \***Chordigera** (s. corderig) subst.: **La Cordelière** *Chordigeramque cano, mediis in fluctibus igne flagrantem indomito* || Brixius (1513) v. 4 *HL* 29 (1980) 183. *Chordigera invectus ... bellipotens Herveus* || Brixius (1513) v. 26 *HL* 29 (1980) 183. *ostendit aperto Chordigeram pelago* || Brixius (1513) v. 34; *passim* *HL* 29 (1980) 184.
- cinere** (lat. cinis) verb: **to bury** *reliquias carnis hoc cineravit humo* || Jordaens (1472) v. 7 *HL* 22 (1973) 95.
- circumcolonium ostium** adj.: **enclosure’s gate** *epithaphion(!) filii Ludovici Sfortie inhumati in limine hostii circumcolonii Iacobitarum, Mediolani* || Anon. epitaph. *Bibliotheca de Cataluña* (Barcelona) ms 1010 p. 215 *HL* 27 (1978) 65.
- circumdeductitare** verb: **to turn around** *monstrum ... leves circumdeductitat aures* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 131 *HL* 25 (1976) 104.
- circumruere** verb: **to collapse** *superba rupium circumruere culmina* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 176 *HL* 25 (1976) 108.
- clangifragus** (cf. “clangisonus” at Du Cange) adj.; **clangorous** *distrudatque clangifragam tubam* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 96 *HL* 25 (1976) 102.
- claudipes** (lat. claudus) adj.: **limping** *claudipedes, valgi, vari, nullumque retardat aut podagra* || Torrentius I (1542) v. 19 *HL* 22 (1973) 155.
- \***clenodium** subst.: **jewel** Found in a letter of H. Barsius (Louvain 1530) and interpreted by A. Desmet as an awkward latinising of the Dutch ‘kleinood’. *HL* 23 (1974) 424.
- \***coenobiarcha** (gr. κοινοβιάρχης) subst.: **abbot** *praeformatio ad D. Gabrielem Barquaeum ordinis D. Benedicti apud Aldenardum Coenobiarcham* || Rhetius (1574A) § 24 *HL* 23 (1974) 288.
- coexsequi** verb: **to perform together** *coexsequendum facinus* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 657 *HL* 25 (1976) 140.
- cohibernare** (lat. hibernus) verb: **to pass the winter together** *olim ea adsolent mecum cohybernare* || Chilius (1533) v. 24 *HL* 23 (1974) 103.
- cohorrere** verb: **to fear** *qua [sc. mente] fretus haud ullas cohorrebit feras* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 79 *HL* 25 (1976) 100.
- \***comitatus, -us** subst.: **county** *quia de Ducatu Comitatuque Burgundiae etc aliqua in praejudicium Regni Gallici immiscuit* || Wallin (1722) p. 30 *HL* 28 (1979) 265.
- \***commissarius apostolicus** adj.: **papal envoy** *totius Francie Anglieque vicarius generalis et commissarius apostolicus* || Johannes B. Moncettus 1515. *Biblioth. de l’Arsenal* (Paris) ms 360 prelim. leaves U<sup>v</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 49.
- \***commodulari** verb: **to sing in verse** *hec erit heroo commodulanda pede* || Mure (1526) v. 330 *HL* 28 (1979) 210.

- commonimentum** (lat. commonere) subst.: **reminder** *multa tibi locus hic dat Bethlemita doloris commonimenta* || Jordaens (1473) v. 2 *HL* 22 (1973) 98.
- \***commune** subst.: **an Italian 'commune'** *cancellarium comunis Aretii* || *Archivio di Stato di Arezzo: Estrazioni degli uffici pubblici di città*. n. 6, c.5, 1410 *HL* 30 (1981) 2. *cancellarius comunis Aretii* || *Archivio di Stato di Arezzo: Deliberazioni dei Priori e del Consiglio generale*, n. 5, c.212, 1417 *HL* 30 (1981) 3.
- \***compactus liber** (lat. compingere) adj.: **bound book** *de pretio observandum in hoc capite ... semper intelligi libros compactos* || Wallin (1722) p. 48 *HL* 28 (1979) 266.
- \***comparabilis** (lat. comparare) adj.: **obtainable** *libellus vero ... parvo aere comparabilis* || Rhetius (1574A) § 24 *HL* 23 (1974) 288.
- conconditatus** adj.: **fellow-candidate** *et qui forte vita comite concandidatos superasset* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: *Vita Ioannis Dullardi* § 6. In: Ioannes Dullardus: *Expositio in libros Meteorum*. Paris <sup>2</sup>1514 *HL* 26 (1977) 94.
- concordate** adv.: **without hesitation** *sic enim discetis concordate loqui* || Aurelio Espinosa Pólit: diary on 7 Oct. 1918 (unedit.) Quito *HL* 27 (1978) 277.
- \***concurrentia** subst.: **competition** *in hac longa et asperrima concurrentia* || Bernardinus Labochetus: letter to Johannes G. Sforza. Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 69.
- condimen** (lat. condire) subst.: **condimentum** *si condiat mulier proterviae suae condimine* || Macropedius (1538) v. 238 *HL* 31 (1982) 91.
- conditionarium luminare** (= astr.) adj.: **ὁ αἰπeticὸς φῶς dominusque conditionarii luminaris** *Marti opponitur aut eum e quadrangulo percutit* || Ioannes Iovianus Pontanus: *Comment. in Centum Claudii Ptolemaei sententias libri duo*. In: id.: *Opera III*. Basel 1556 p. 2806 *HL* 28 (1979) 147.
- confessarius** (lat. confessio) subst.: **confessor** *Vestalibus ... Rector ac Confessarius praeficitur* || Trudonensis (17th cent.) p. 171, 1.16 *HL* 22 (1973) 91.
- \***confrater** subst.: **colleague** G. Abignente: *Le 'Chartulae Fraternitatis' ed il libro de 'Confratres' della Chiesa Salernitana*. In: *Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane*. Nr. 13 1888, p. 449-483 *HL* 29 (1980) 105.
- congratulatur** subst.: **he who bears congratulations** *conspicienti sibi congratulatores ... moriendum esse illi* || Agnoletti (1396) f.83<sup>r</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 12.
- \***contrafacere** verb: **to portrait** *quod bizontem secundum vivam eius depingere et contrafacere iubeant* || Severyn Boner: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Krakau 1541 *HL* 31 (1982) 143.
- \***contrafactura** subst.: **portrait** *mihi agit gratias de contrafacturis* || Severyn Boner: letter to S.v. Herberstein. 1541 *HL* 31 (1982) 144.
- \***copiare** (lat. copia) verb: **to transcribe** *ipse formaliter ex Zabarello copiavi* || Johannes Snavel: *Lectura domini Johannis de Ymola super Constitutionibus Clementinis*. Groenendaal 1446, fol.8 *HL* 23 (1974) 383. *copiavi ut melius potui* || Johannes Snavel: *Anonymi de artificiali memoria*. Louvain 1446, f. 1<sup>v</sup>. *HL* 23 (1974) 383.
- copula** subst.: **stanza** *sunt 17 copulae* || Arnoldus Bucchellius: *Poemata errantia variorum, de quibus dubitatur an aedita*. UB Utrecht ms 837 f. 45<sup>v</sup>-46<sup>r</sup> *HL* 30 (1981) 191.
- córdidatus** (lat. cor) adj.: **kind** found in: Kaiser L.M., "John Leverett and the

- Quebec Expedition of 1711: An Unpublished Latin Oration*”, *Harvard Library Bulletin* xxii (1974), 309-316. *HL* 24 (1975) 359.
- \***cordiger pater** (gr. χορδή) adj.: **Franciscan** *ultima cordigeri cauda fuere patres* || Ludovicus Helianus: *Pro Ludovico Galliarum rege eiusdem nominis XII votum*. ≈ 1500 v. 120 *HL* 26 (1977) 46.
- correspondere** verb: **to come up to** *cum presertim munus ... nec numismati ... correspondere posse censuerimus* || Ioannes Calvetus: letter to Condisalvo de Toledo. Montisbrissii 1505 l.6 *HL* 26 (1977) 4.
- \***corrosor** subst.: **devourer** *severiores absentium censores, aut (ut verius dicam) corrosores* || Briçonnet (1520) d.ii<sup>r</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 123.
- cosmographicus** (gr. κοσμογραφικός) adj.: **cosmographic** *habeo enim quicquid ... cosmographicarum tabularum vel in Germania ... excussum est* || Wolfgang Droschius: letter. Schweidnitz 1550 *HL* 31 (1982) 157.
- cothurnulus** (gr. κόθορνος) subst.: **small buskin** *cothurnuli Herculis pedibus non induendi* || Clarke (1632) p. 379 *HL* 25 (1976) 268.
- \***counire** verb: **to unite** *et erraticam divinitatis humeris impositam centesimo (perfectionis videlicet numero) cōiūniens* || Briçonnet (1519) a.ii<sup>r</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 89.
- \***cremisilis** (= Ital. cremisi) (arab. qirmizī) adj.: **purple** *panni argentei, ostrei seu cremesilis* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Missive*, 119, f. 115<sup>r</sup>. 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 62.
- criticismus** (gr. κριτικός) subst.: **criticism** *censuras suas & criticismos clandestinos* || Clarke (1632) p. 385 *HL* 25 (1976) 276.
- cruciger** (lat. denarius cruciatus) subst.: **Kreuzer (coin)** *X crucigerorum pretium* || Stettler, 7 June 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 226. *qui decem crucigeros expenderant* || Stettler, 5 July 1728 *HL* 30 (1981) 227.
- \***curatus** subst.: **parish-priest** *quid quaeso, curatus? Sollicitudinis, diligentiae, laboris, vigilantiae, curaeque nomen est* || Briçonnet (1519) a.iii<sup>v</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 93. *et ut vulgaribus verbis utar, deserviat per se curatus curae* || Briçonnet (1519) b.iii<sup>v</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 98.
1. \***curialis** adj.: **courtly** *nos ... Republica vel potius cur<i>ali servitute ad rem nostram familiarem florenti etate seduxisse* || Ioannes Calvetus, Montisbrissii 1506. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Catalunya, 1010 p. 203 *HL* 27 (1978) 53. *me mea sorte contentus ab negotiis curialibus ad domestica et privata traduxi* || Ioannes Calvetus. ibid *HL* 27 (1978) 53.
2. \***curialis** subst.: **member of the court** *Magistro Ludovico Vives, in Curia regia residenti eiusque curiali* || Jurados (magistrate of Valencia): letter to Ioannes Ludovicus Vives. Valencia 1516 *HL* 26 (1977) 90.
- Cyprigena** subst.: **Venus** *qui Phoebum amarunt et ... Cyprigenam* || Melissus (1591) v. 20 *HL* 30 (1981) 195.
- cyriaceus dies** (gr. κυριακός) adj.: **sunday** *faustum kyriaceumque diem* || Cyriacus Anconitanus. E.W. Bodnar/Ch. Mitchell: *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and Northern Aegean 1444-1445*. Philadelphia 1976 l.255, 485, 532, 1128 *HL* 32 (1983) 57.
- \***datarius** subst.: **church official** *supplicibus libellis subnotandis (datarium vocant) praefecto* || Epitaph 1492. In: V. Forcella: *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri*

*edifici di Roma dal XI secolo fino ai giorni nostri*. Rome 1861 I 1230 *HL* 28 (1979) 181.

\***Daventria** subst.: **Deventer** *condiscipulus Daventriae fuerat* || Hermann Hamelmann: *Oratio de Rodolpho Langio*. 1580 *HL* 29 (1980) 164. *apud Daventriam* || Beatus Rhenanus: letter to the archbishop of Cologne. Schlettstadt 1536 *HL* 29 (1980) 165. *vale, ex Daventria* || S. Aedicollus: *Francisci Petrarche Aretini laureati poete Bucolicum carmen ... diligenter recognitum et accuratius explanatum*. Deventer 1508, 1.47 *HL* 29 (1980) 172.

\***Daventriensis** adj.: of Deventer *Hegius non fuit Daventriensis* || Hermann Hamelmann: *Virorum scriptis illustrium, qui vel in Westphalia vixere vel in ea nati alibi cluerunt ...*, lib. III. 1564 *HL* 29 (1980) 163. *gubernacula scholae Daventriensis* || Hermann Hamelmann: *Oratio de Rodolpho Langio*. 1580 *HL* 29 (1980) 164.

**decanatus** (lat. decanus) subst.: **deanship** *Ramus ob decanatum invisus multis* || Nancelius (1599) § 65 *HL* 24 (1975) 254. *cum in ordine regionum professorum velut antiquissimus gradum et honorem Decani ambiret* || Nancelius (1599) § 66 *HL* 24 (1975) 256.

\***decanus** subst.: **dean** *Decanus Noviomagensis* || Leonhard Kessel: letter to Jaques Laynez. Cologne 1563 § 2 *HL* 23 (1974) 263. *Quando Dominus Henricus eo debet ire, Decanus Neomagensis poterit Rethio succedere* || Leonhard Kessel: letter to Jaques Laynez. Cologne 1563 § 4 *HL* 23 (1974) 263. *M. Nicolaus Busius Gertrudimontanus ... dum apud Becanos Canonico-rum praesset collegio Decanus* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Jan Goossens. Bois-le-Duc, (23 Jan.) 1597 § 7 *HL* 23 (1974) 339. *Becam ad Collegii Decanum ... consecutus sis* || Simon Verepaeus: letter to Jan Goossens. Bois-le-Duc, (23 Jan.) 1597 § 9 *HL* 23 (1974) 339.

**decastichon** (gr. δεκάστιχος) subst.: **poem of ten verses** Johannes Reuchlin: *Decastichon ludicra preexercitamenta*. In: *Scaenica progymnasmata*. Deventer? 1525, and in: *Sergius vel capitis caput*. Deventer 1527 *HL* 29 (1980) 168.

\***decimare** verb: **to take tithe from** *parochum decimat quintatve colonus pastorisque sui tergora glutit ovis* || I.U.Schwindrazhemius: *Tristia Thumlingensia*. 1768 v. 117 *HL* 29 (1980) 296.

\***decoctrix** adj.: **squandering** *gula decoctrix patrimonia tota ligurit* || Klonowicz (1587-1595) v. 474 *HL* 25 (1976) 255.

**decubitus** (lat. decumbere) subst.: **laying (down) in bed** *tum quod sciret molli et plumeo decubitu ... veneraque ... somnia immitti* || Nancelius (1599) § 53 *HL* 24 (1975) 236.

**dedicatorius** adj.: **dedicatory** *praefatio dedicatoria* || Daniel Paraeus: *Mellificium atticum in quo flosculi, ex omnium poetarum graecorum ... in locos communes ordine distribuuntur*. 1627 *HL* 33 (1984) 141.

**defascinare** (gr. βασκαίνειν) verb: = **fascinare** *o te oculis quis nunc defascinat ater?* || Curius Lancillotus Pasius: *Bucolicorum mimisis*, Ecl. I, 13. 1506 *HL* 32 (1983) 168.

**delectamen** subst.: **delectamentum** *anne viatori sua delectamina desunt* || Bossche (1657) v. 45 *HL* 31 (1982) 195.

\***delicatus** adj.: **with refined taste** *delicatus ... palatis* || Clarke (1632) p. 382 *HL* 25 (1976) 272.

- dephlogisticatus aer** (gr. φλογιστικός) adj.: **a term of the phlogiston theory** *quaedam de asphyxia ab aeris dephlogisticati privatione oriunda* || William Stokes: *Tentamen Medicum Inaugurale*, .... Philadelphia 1793 HL 31 (1982) 184.
- \*desinentia** subst.: **ending** *depositionem appellamus uniuscuiusque metri desinentiam* || Niccolò Perotti: *De generibus metrorum*. 1453; Conrad Celtis: *Ars versificandi et carminum*. 1486 HL 30 (1981) 15.
- \*desperabundus** (lat. desperare) adj.: **desperate** *en munera ... quae iamiam desperabundi stabili Fortunae commiseratis arbitrio* || Iohannes Dullaert: letter to his students. In: *Summa philosophie naturalis clarissimi philosophi Pauli Veneti* .... Paris 1513 §2 HL 26 (1977) 95.
- Deya** subst.: **the river Dee** *Deya fluminis pontem assumpsit condendum* || H. Boethius (1522) 98.16 HL 28 (1979) 230.
- diadicus** (gr. δυαδικός) adj.: **binary (in metrics)** *prima [sc. species iuncturae] diadicum trisemum a graecis dicitur ut trochaicum et iambicum* || Niccolò Perotti: *De generibus metrorum*. 1453 HL 30 (1981) 14.
- dictionary** (lat. dictio) subst.: **dictionary** *nunc illius nunc huius auctor DictionarI* || Melissus (1597) v. 43 HL 22 (1973) 250.
- \*didascalus** (gr. διδάσκαλος) subst.: **teacher** *ut in his tirunculi maiores studiorum progressus faciant, id curet didascalus* || Simon Verepaeus: *Latinae Grammatices Etymologia*. Antverpiae 1598, praef. HL 23 (1974) 336.
- \*dilustrare** verb: **to glitter** *arma micant dilustrantque Galli ensiferi* || Harmonius (1499) V 16 HL-S 1 (1978) 64.
- diluviosus** adj.: **subject to inundations** *terra mericosa non extans diluviosa* || Henricus de Oesterwijk: *Laus Brabantiae*. Louvain ≈ 1430 HL 31 (1982) 192.
- \*districtus -us** subst.: **district** *pro Generoso Domino Joanne Osmolskich Seniore Inaugurato Districtus Lublinensis* || Joannes Cochranovius: *Elegiarum libri duo*. Warszawa, Bibliot. Narodowa IV 4522 f. 70 ≈ 1560 HL 27 (1978) 184.
- distrudere** verb: **to snatch from** *distrudatque ... tubam ensemque cornipedemque Mavorti fero* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 96 HL 25 (1976) 102.
- \*divariare** verb: **to vary** *gaudens omniuiugis divariare metris*. || Erasmus: *In hymnos B. Andreae ... Hexasthicon* v. 4. In: Bernard André: *Hymni Christiani*. Paris 1517. HL 27 (1978) 51.
- divolare** verb: **to fly about** *divolat alterno pila nulla reciproca iactu* || Foullis (1512) Al v. 395 HL 24 (1975) 120.
- docticolus** adj.: **honouring the learned** *iam digna vestro sunt labori praemia docticolas per urbes* || Arnoldus Buccchellius: *Poemata errantia variorum, de quibus dubitatur an aedita*. UB Utrecht ms 837 f. 7<sup>r</sup>-8<sup>r</sup> HL 30 (1981) 188.
- \*doctoratus, -us** subst.: **doctorate, doctoral degree** *privilegium doctoratus* || De Marinis: *Nuovi documenti per la storia dello Studio di Napoli nel Rinascimento*. Firenze 1904, pp. 9 (copy of a 'privilegium doctoratus' executed in 1468) HL 29 (1980) 108, 135. *pro doctoratus in philosophia gradu* || Jeremias Dummer: *Disputatio Philosophica Inauguralis*. Utrecht 1703 HL 31 (1982) 171.
- \*doctrinatio** subst.: **instruction, education** *super gubernatione et doctrinatione* ||

- Adam Jordaens: *super gubernatione et doctrinatione scholarium in monasterio Sancti Martini commorantium*. Louvain 1484 *HL* 26 (1977) 257.
- \*doctulus** adj.: **learned (scornful)** *quorum non est cantio doctula, sed oratio ornata* || Martin Dorpius: *Dialogus*. Louvain 1514 D.i.<sup>r</sup> *HL-S* 2 (1979) 99.
- dominabiliter** adv.: **as a lord (opp.: familiariter)** *meque utere deinceps annexo devinctoque tibi dominabiliter* || Agnoletti (1396) f.83<sup>r</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 12.
- \*Dominicanus** subst.: **Dominican** *F. Petrus Bacherius Dominicanus Gandensis* || Rhetius (1574A) § 24 *HL* 23 (1974) 288.
- \*ducalis** adj.: **ducal** *e merito Insubris tibi iura ducalia scaeptri tradita legitimae praemia dotis erant* || Faustus Andrelinus: epitaph on Louis XII. ≈ 1500 v. 3 *HL* 26 (1977) 9.
- \*ducatus, -i** subst.: **ducat** *Ramus a Bononiensibus invitatur professor mille ducatorum stipendio* || Nancelius (1599) § 64 *HL* 24 (1975) 252.
- \*ducatus, -us** subst.: **duchy** *quia de Ducatu Comitatuque Burgundiae etc aliqua in praejudicium Regni Gallici immiscuit* || Wallin (1722) p. 30 *HL* 28 (1979) 265. *Hercules dux Ferrariae in eo ducato(!) Venetorum armis constitutus* || Petrus Carmelianus: *Sex perelegantissimae epistolae*. London 1483 praef. *HL* 33 (1984) 100.
- eberbis** (lat. barba) adj.: **beardless** *fuit vir humili nonnihil corpore ac eberbis* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: *Vita Ioannis Dullardi* § 5. In: Ioannes Dullardus: *Expositio in libros Meteororum*. Paris <sup>2</sup>1514 *HL* 26 (1977) 94.
- \*ecstaticus** (gr. ἐκστατικός) adj.: **ecstatic** *ac mentis extatico volatu* || Briçonnet (1520) d.bi.<sup>r</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 111.
- effer** = efferus (cf. dum. esse videtur c. gr. θήρ) adj. **stupro sororem qui violat, effer quoque linguam trucidat** || Gregorio Correr: *Progne*. Mantua 1429, v. 989 *HL* 29 (1980) 92.
- effictor** (lat. effingere) subst.: **portraying poet** *quam [sc. Rhodanthen] cecini ... effictor* || Melissus (1592B) *HL* 22 (1973) 226.
- \*effulminare** (lat. fulmen) verb.: **to explode** *quae dum vitia effulminat, perturbationes radicitus evellit* || Laurentius Lippius: *Satyrae V ad Laurentium Medicem*. Pisa 1485 proem. p. 1 *HL* 27 (1978) 21.
- egestio** subst.: **relaxation** *demum egestionis et recreationis causa inde emittant* || Briçonnet (1519) b.i.<sup>r</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 94.
- egoitas** (gr. ἐγώ) subst.: **philosophical term** *haec enim dubitatio nos admonet intellectionem verbi aeterni non sufficere ad personalitatem, sed requiri conscientiam seu egoitatem* || Valerianus Magni: *Opus philosophicum*. Lito-myšl 1660. Pars II, tract. 21, cap. 13 *HL* 33 (1984) 323.
- \*elector** subst.: **1. 'élu' (French tax official)** *Ioannes Calvetus elector Forensis* || Ioannes Calvetus: letter to Condialvo de Toledo. Montisbrissii 1505 *HL* 26 (1977) 4. *I. Calvetus elector regius Forensis Lectori S. P. D.* || Ioannes Calvetus, Montisbrissii 1506. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Cataluña, 1010 p. 203 *HL* 27 (1978) 52.
- 2. elector (German prince)** *ut eadem legatur a tribus ad Rhenum Ecclesiasticis Electoribus* || Daniel Mauch: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Worms (14 Feb.). 1560 *HL* 31 (1982) 161.
- eleemosynarius** (gr. ἐλεημοσύνη) subst.: **almoner** *pollebat D. Castellanus, Episcopus (credo) Matisconensis, Regis Henrici confessor et eleemosynarius* ||

- Nancelius (1599) § 67 *HL* 24 (1975) 256. *Petri Castellani Magni Franciae Eleemosynarii Vita* || Stephanus Baluzius: *Petri Castellani Magni Franciae Eleemosynarii Vita, Auctore Petro Gallandio*. Paris 1674 *HL* 24 (1975) 259.
- \*elementaris** adj.: **basic, elementary** *institutionum elementarium philosophiae* || Andrés de Guevera y Besozabal: *Institutionum elementarium philosophiae*. Romae 18th cent. *HL* 30 (1981) 153.
- \*ementulatus** (lat. mentula) adj.: **castrated?** (but cf. Aristoph. *Plut.* 395 ἀπεψωλημένον) *ovicularum o filii ... sequamini hac ementulati* || Chilius (1533) v. 305 *HL* 23 (1974) 73.
- enchiridiolum** (gr. ἐγχειριδίοιον) subst.: **little book** *quam rem hoc nostro qualicumque enchiridiolo tenui parumque culto volumine comprobari velim* || Ioannes Calvetus, Montisbrissii 1506. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Cataluña, 1010 p. 203 *HL* 27 (1978) 53.
- encyclopaedia** (gr. ἐγκυκλοπαιδεία) subst.: **1. cycle, programme et tota artium liberalium encyclopaedia** || Wallin (1722) p. 83 *HL* 28 (1979) 270.  
**2. encyclopaedia** Hyacinthus Gimma: *Nova Encyclopaedia, sive novus doctrinarum orbis*. Neapoli 1672 *HL* 33 (1984) 348.
- \*ericetum [mericetum, miricetum]** (gr. ἐρείκη) subst.: **heath** *dicet ericetis laetius esse nihil* || Bossche (1657) v. 6 *HL* 31 (1982) 194. *namque ab ericetis nulla volucris abest* || Bossche (1657) v. 54 *HL* 31 (1982) 196. *quippe miricetis non parvi gloria lucri semper inest* || Bossche (1657) v. 27 *HL* 31 (1982) 195. *perque miricetum vulpes leporesque caballo insequare* || Bossche (1657) v. 69 *HL* 31 (1982) 196.
- erratum** subst.: **small error** *in ipsa etiam Grammatica nostra erratum occurrit* || Verepaeus (1591/2) § 4 *HL* 23 (1974) 328.
- esurius** adj.: **hungry** *nam illius supra quam par sit avari et semper esurii numquam dicunt "sufficit"* || Briçonnet (1520) c.iii<sup>v</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 121.
- evitrescere** (lat. vitrum) verb.: **to become glassy** *pix ... ab aestibus itemque itemque usta evitrescat horrida* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 433 *HL* 25 (1976) 124.
- \*exactitudo** subst.: **exactness** *vel fidei vel exactitudinis nomine cedit* || Wallin (1722) p. 135 *HL* 28 (1979) 280.
- exscriptor** subst.: **transcriber** *me assiduum suum auditorem exscriptoremque commentationum omnium, memoriter Vergilium addiscere Ramus [ipse] praecepit* || Nancelius (1599) § 22 *HL* 24 (1975) 192.
- \*extreme** adv.: **awfully** *quam extreme infelix est quisquis in egestate situs querit liberos* || Anon. poem. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Cataluña, 1010 p. 204 *HL* 27 (1978) 54.
- \*extrinsecus** adj.: **external** *agnosce igitur diligenter vultum pecoris tui, non extrinseca ista corporis linamenta et formam* || Briçonnet (1519) c. ii<sup>v</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 100.
- \*facultas** subst.: **Faculty (univ.)** *dividitur porro Universitas Parisiensis in quatuor facultates* || Wallin (1722) p. 85 *HL* 28 (1979) 270.
- \*falsificus** adj.: **falsifying** *pro Caietanus sum Caietanus iniqui pressoris vicio falsifica manu* || Daniele Gaetani: *Ad Harmonium Marsum*. ≈ 1527, v. 12 *HL-S* 1 (1978) 2.
- famare** (= diffamare) verb *vin' tu tuos famarier domesticos?* || Macropedius (1538) v. 981 *HL* 31 (1982) 113.

- famescere** verb: **to long for** *Cyprida non famuit* || Mure (1526) v. 393 *HL* 28 (1979) 212.
- favitare** (= favere) verb: **to favor nostrum ... iter tutum, felix, faustum atque beatum dirigere, favitare atque comitare velis** || Cyriacus Anconitanus. E.W. Bodnar/Ch. Mitchell: *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and Northern Aegean 1444-1445*. Philadelphia 1976 1.424 *HL* 32 (1983) 67.
- ferripes** adj.: **with iron shoes** *ferripedem urgenti viso calcaribus hoste aggressos hastam porriget alma Fides* || Foullis (1512) B3 v. 55 *HL* 24 (1975) 136.
- feudum** (ahd. fihu) subst.: **feudal law** *Pugnolus de Castiliono, qui legat feuda* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi. Parte antica*, 390. 1469 *HL* 31 (1982) 33.
- Fiumum** subst.: **Rijeka/Fiume immensam pecuniae summam ... Tergesten Fiumumque deductam fuisse** || Stettler, 25 Jan. 1729 *HL* 30 (1981) 228.
- \*floreus** (lat. flos) subst.: **guilder mulcta 1000 florenorum** || Stettler, 22 March 1729 *HL* 30 (1981) 218. *praesertim cum LX exemplaria XX florenis emantur; non expenderet XX sordidos florenos* || Daniel Mauch: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Worms (20 March) 1560 *HL* 31 (1982) 162. *miserunt sex florenos tantum, ut etiam mortuus sui similis esset* || Erasmus: letter to G.G. Hermansz, 1503. In: P.S. Allen, *Opus epistolarum*. Oxford 1906, I ep. 178,50 *HL* 33 (1984) 106.
- fluctisonans** = fluctisonus adj. *antris pelagi fluctisonantibus* || Coriolanus Martirani: *Plutus*. In: *Tragoediae VIII ... Comoediae II ...* Neapoli 1556 f.246 *HL* 27 (1978) 176 [corr].
- fluor album** (lat. fluere) subst.: **white fluor** James Jay: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis, de Fluore Albo*. Edinburgh 1753 *HL* 31 (1982) 177. John Shore: *Tentamen Medicum Inaugurale, de Fluore Albo*. Edinburgh 1777 *HL* 31 (1982) 182.
- formiceus** adj.: **of ants fertur et formiceis populis vagis horrere pulvinar deum** || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 581 *HL* 25 (1976) 134.
- Fovernum** subst.: **Foveran (Scotland) Foverni infans biceps atque bicorpor ... natus** || H. Boethius (1522) 109.5 *HL* 28 (1979) 231.
- fraterrimus** adj.: **superlative of frater** *Fratres Fraterrimi* || George Buchanan: *Fratres Fraterrimi XII*. Bordeaux ≈ 1540 *HL* 26 (1977) 139.
- fructare** verb: **to bless with fruit nisi populum suum ... benignissime fructasse Deum ingenue et libere profiteamur** || Leverett (1689) 81 *HL* 24 (1975) 332.
- \*fundatio** subst.: **foundation atque ipsi primam sui Athenaei fundationem adscribunt** || Wallin (1722) p. 82 *HL* 28 (1979) 269.
- \*funiger** = cordiger (monk) (lat. funis) adj. *miseri mystae, funigerique greges* || George Buchanan: *Pro Lena Apologia*, Eleg. III, 144. Bordeaux ≈ 1540 *HL* 26 (1977) 139.
- gallinago** subst.: **snipe nihil fere supra vitulinam aut vervecinam quotidie admitens ... [aut gallinaginem, aut attaginem sive perdicem, aut galeritas]** || Nancelius (1599) § 51 *HL* 24 (1975) 232. *gallinago (rusticola) et turdus in deliciis habentur* || J.A. Comenius: *Orbis sensualium pictus*. Noribergae 1659 *HL* 31 (1982) 193. *hic turdus, perdix et gallinago statuto tempore comparent* || Bossche (1657) v. 55 *HL* 31 (1982) 196.



- gallomastix** (gr. μάστιξ) subst.: **chastiser of France** *Bononia Gallo-mastix*. || Poem of John Leland. London 1545 *HL* 26 (1977) 122.
- gemebundus** (lat. gemere) adj.: **lamented** *pastoremque tulit mors gemebunda gregi* || Mure (1526) v. 358 *HL* 28 (1979) 211.
- \*generalis exercituum** subst.: **army general** *Domino Joanni de Zamoscio, Regni Poloniae Cancellario Supremo et Exercituum Generali* || David Heliconius: preface (1594) to Daniel Hermannus: *Poemata Academica, Aulica, Bellica*. Riga 1614 *HL* 26 (1977) 207.
- Geusismus** (s. geusius) subst.: **the beggars' movement** *sed post exortum apud nos Geusismus nihil emisit in lucem* || Verepaeus (1574) § 31 *HL* 23 (1974) 299.
- Geusius = Geuseus** (fr. gueux) subst.: **beggar** *expulso a se Geusiorum praesidio* || Verepaeus (1574) § 35 *HL* 23 (1974) 300. *nunc Geusei ... ex Germania magnas copias ducunt* || Rhetius (1574B) § 4 *HL* 23 (1974) 302.
- Gothunnus** (goth.) adj.: **swedish** *nunc arva postquam messuit hosticus ensis Gothunni* || Jacob Balde: *Carmina Lyrica*. III 6, 10. 1643 *HL* 32 (1983) 328.
- graffignare** (ital. sgraffignare) verb: **to rob (macar. Latin)** *graffigna dum vivis, post mortem non graffignabis* || Anon. *Epitaphium Leonis X*. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Cataluña, 1010 p. 224, 1521 *HL* 27 (1978) 78.
- \*granities** (slaw. graniza) subst.: **boundary (of Muscovy)** *signaturam totius terre Moscovie et granitium ipsius* || Ivan Ljackij: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Wilna 1541 *HL* 31 (1982) 149.
- \*grossus** (etym. uncertain, s. Walde-Hofmann, Thesaurus) subst.: **a coin** *grossos ad te mitterem* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to P. Rassica. middle of 15th cent.? *HL* 29 (1980) 136.
- \*quantus** (germ. want) subst.: **glove** *eoque [sc. telo] empto una cum quantis (ut vulgo dicitur)* || Agnelius Salernitanus: letter to his brother Adrianus. middle of 15th cent.?. *HL* 29 (1980) 131.
- \*guardianus** (germ. garda) subst.: **guardian** *sed nullus est quem quidquam sciam scribere praeter Guardianum Franciscanorum F. Matthiam Felisium* || Verepaeus (1574) § 35 *HL* 23 (1974) 299.
- guinea** (made of gold from Guinea; first known in Portug. Guiné) subst.: **guinea (coin)** *trium nummorum sive Guinearum pretio exemplar* || Stettler, 1728? *HL* 30 (1981) 234.
- gymnasiolum** (gr. γυμνάσιον) subst.: **little college** *est Lutetiae obscurum et perparvum gymnasiolum, quod Marianum dicitur* || Nancelius (1599) § 13 *HL* 24 (1975) 180.
- \*hastiludium** subst.: **tournament** Lodovico Lazzarelli: *Liber de apparatu Patavini astiludii* [sic]. 15th cent. *HL* 31 (1982) 36.
- hemisphaericus** (gr. ἡμισφαιρικός) adj.: **hemispherical** *legendo meditandoque domi et in ampla bibliotheca appensum ex adverso grande speculum contuebatur globosum, [hemisphaericum]* || Nancelius (1599) § 48 *HL* 24 (1975) 228.
- heptarchia scientiarum** (gr. ἑπταρχία) subst.: **the 7 liberal arts** *ut fateantur sine scholis, sine collegio, sine viris scientiarum instructis heptarchia consistere non posse Rempublicam*. || Leverett (1689) 83 *HL* 24 (1975) 335.
- \*hernicus** (lat. herna; medievalism for saxosus. Cf. J.B. Dillon: 'Some passages in the carmina of J. Foullis'. *Stud. in Scottish Literature* 14 (1979) 187-195)

- adj.: **stony** *vultu queque petit flebilis hernico concedit; pedicis se capit et suis* || Foullis (1512) A3 v. 16 *HL* 24 (1975) 127.
- heteromallus** (gr. ἑτερομάλλος) adj.: **of velvet** *sagum paulo cultius, vel sericum, vel holosericum, sive undulatum, sive heteromallum* || Nancelius (1599) § 54 *HL* 24 (1975) 238.
- \*homagium legeum** (mlat. hominaticum) subst.: **liege homage** Petrus Carmelianus: *Carmen pro homagio legeo reddendo*. Oxford, end of 15th cent. *HL* 33 (1984) 95.
- honestari** = honestare verb *animi dotes quibus civitatem Romam propinquitatem nobilium meruit honestari* || Epitaph, late 15th cent. In: V. Forcella: *Iscrizioni delle chiese ed altri edifici di Roma dal XI secolo fino ai giorni nostri*. Rome 1861 IV 624 *HL* 28 (1979) 174.
- horrisonans** = horrisonus adj. *tela horrisonantia tonitru* || Coriolanus Martiranus: *Prometheus* v. 582. In: *Tragoediae VIII ... Comoediae II .... Neapoli* 1556 *HL* 27 (1978) 177.
- huguenota** subst.: **Huguenot** *secta ut Religio est, ita secta insignia dentur, Crux Michaelique piis, Damon at Huguenotis* || Jean Dorat, *epigr. lib. III* p. 10. In: *Poematia*. Paris 1586 *HL* 23 (1974) 181.
- Hydropolis** (gr. ὑδροπόλις) subst.: **Dorchester** Found in: Joannes Leland: *Cynea cantio*, 1545. *HL* 32 (1983) 234.
- hypogastria** (n.pl.) (gr. ὑπογάστριον) subst.: **abdomen** *partibus illis, quas tereti lingua vocitant hypogastria Graii* || Klonowic (1587-1595) v. 255 *HL* 25 (1976) 246.
- iconomachus** (gr. εἰκονομάχος) subst.: **iconoclast** *Ramus habetur Lutetiae iconomachus; imagines Praellei collegii franguntur* || Nancelius (1599) § 71 *HL* 24 (1975) 262.
- illatinismus** subst.: **bad Latin** Found in "Tercentenary of an Oration: The 1672 Commencement Address of Urian Oakes". published by L.M. Kaiser in: *Harvard Library Bulletin*, xxi (1973), p. 83 *HL* 23 (1974) 410.
- \*illegibilis** adj.: **unreadable** *quod authographiis et lituris ... illegibilis esset* || Vincentius Hortensius: letter to S.v. Herberstein. 1549 *HL* 31 (1982) 147.
- immarcescens** (lat. marcescere) adj.: **unfading** Found in: Kaiser L.M., "John Leverett and the Quebec Expedition of 1711: An Unpublished Latin Oration", *Harvard Library Bulletin* xxii (1974), 309-316. *HL* 24 (1975) 359.
- immethodice** (gr. μέθοδος) adv.: **unmethodically** *absurde, imperite, & immethodice disposuisse* || Clarke (1632) p. 382 *HL* 25 (1976) 272.
- immotim** (= immobile) adv.: **immovable** *tamen istic haesitat immotim* || Rhellicanus (1555) v. 80 *HL* 32 (1983) 223.
- impressio** (lat. imprimere) subst.: **printing** *mitto una Grammatices tuae (exemplaria) nostrae iteratae impressionis* || Christophorus Plantinus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Antwerp (14 April) 1587 § 2 *HL* 23 (1974) 310. *nihil ... vel mutatum est ab impressione facta sub nomine Antonii Tilenii* || Christophorus Plantinus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Antwerp (Nov.) 1587 *HL* 23 (1974) 312. *Manualis Catholicorum Rdi. admodum Patris Canisii impressionem absolvimus* || Joannes Moretus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Antwerp (3 March) 1588 § 2 *HL* 23 (1974) 314. *quippe qui ne semel quidem interfuerim impressioni* || Ioannes Ludovicus Vives: letter to Ioannes Fortis. Paris 1514

- §3 *HL* 26 (1977) 93. *post novissimam Ioannis Tacuini impraessionem apprime recogniti* || *Diomedes grammaticus aliiue decem & novem autores infra notati* ... Venetiis 1522 *HL* 26 (1977) 149.
- \*impressor** subst.: **printer** *ad lectorem de erratis culpo impressorum* || Curius Lancillotus Pasius: *De rebus non vulgaribus*. 1504 *HL* 32 (1983) 184.
- impressoria ars** adj.: **art of printing** *super illo quod voluisti arte impressoria excusum* || S. Aedicollius: *Francisci Petrarche Aretini laureati poete Bucolicum carmen* ... *diligenter recognitum et accuratius explanatum*. Deventer 1508, l.13 *HL* 29 (1980) 171.
- imprimere** verb: **to print** *volumen* ... *quod Roma allatum Gervinius Calenius* ... *Coloniae impressit* || Rhetius (1574A) §12 *HL* 23 (1974) 284. *Sebaldus Mayer impressit Horatium obscoenitate purgatum* || Rhetius (1574A) §16 *HL* 23 (1974) 285. *libellus* ... *Antverpiae apud Ioannem Bellerum impressus* || Rhetius (1574A) §24 *HL* 23 (1974) 288. *ea impressa est Dilingae cum Catechismo* || Rhetius (1574A) §28 *HL* 23 (1974) 289. *impressa est tua haec Grammatica* || Christophorus Plantinus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Antwerp (14 April) 1587 §3 *HL* 23 (1974) 311. *hinc etiam fit ut quae vellemus et utilia reipub(licae) Christianae scimus, imprimere nequeamus* || Christophorus Plantinus: letter to Simon Verepaeus. Antwerp (14 April) 1587 §3 *HL* 23 (1974) 311. *responsum de tertio imprimendis rebus Moscoviticis* || Daniel Mauch: letter to S.v. Herberstein. Worms (20 March) 1560 *HL* 31 (1982) 162. *Libri novi Plantiniana editionis post Catalogum impressum*. 1596, Antwerp Plantin-Moretus Mus. R 55.21 *HL* 33 (1984) 218.
- impulsitare** verb: **to push against** *ego ipsum exprimens Cyclopa vos sic pedibus impulsitans horsum reduxero* || Chilius (1533) v. 301 *HL* 23 (1974) 73.
- \*inauctorare** verb: **1. to entrust with** *ut quidam spectatis moribus, egregia doctrina vir sacerdotio inauktoraretur* || Erasmus: *De conscr. epist.* In: *Opera omnia*. Amsterdam 1971 I, 2 p. 273. Non est cur de verbo inauktorandi dubites. Manifesto significat: (sacerdotii) munere donare seu 'investire'. J. IJsewijn: *Castigationes Erasmianae II*. *HL* 27 (1978) 299. *eo munere inauktoratus est Rusellus, episcopus Lincolnensis* || Thomas Morus: *Historia Richardi III*. (ed. R. Sylvester, Yale 1963) p. 25 *HL* 28 (1979) 344.
- 2. to engage, to take on** *Christo inauthorati sumus* || Gerardus Moringus: *Oratio paraenetica ad literas sacras, ex praesentibus moribus ducto argumento* .... Louvain 1526, Rijksarchief, Hasselt ms 6681b f. 264<sup>v</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 208.
- \*inauguralis** adj.: **inaugural** Jeremias Dummer: *Disputatio Philosophica Inauguralis de Animorum Μεταγγισμῶ*. Utrecht 1703 *HL* 31 (1982) 171. Samuel Nicholson: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis de Exercitatione Sanitatis*. Lugduni Batavorum 1741 *HL* 31 (1982) 176.
- \*incidenter** (lat. incidere) adv.: **in passing** *contra Vallam incidenter* || Thomas Schifaldus: *Libellus de Indagationibus grammaticis*. 2nd half of 15th cent. l.1087 *HL* 32 (1983) 152.
- incineratus** (lat., s. cinerare) adj.: **buried** *ossa Prioris Aegidii Walrami incinerata loco* || Jordaens (1459) v. 2 *HL* 22 (1973) 94.
- \*incompactus** (s. compactus) adj.: **not bound (book)** *exemplaria intelligi nuda et incompacta* || Wallin (1722) p. 48 *HL* 28 (1979) 266.

- \*independens** adj.: **independent** *vere independens iam nunc Neo-Anglia dicor* || Charles Chauncy: *Novae Angliae Lamentatio*. N.-America 1649, v. 11 *HL* 23 (1974) 352.
- \*individuatus** adj.: **'substantia individuata'** *substantia enim individuata sine qualitate et quantitate esse intelligi non potest; non individuata sine his esse omnino potest* || Thomas Schifaldus: *Libellus de Indagationibus grammaticis*. 2nd half of 15th cent. 1.176s. *HL* 32 (1983) 122.
- indolere** verb: **to repent** *secum indoleant impia facta* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 560 *HL* 25 (1976) 132.
- Indum venenum** adj.: **indigo** *Tyriumque Indumque venenum* || Rafael Landívar: *Rusticatio mexicana*. Mexico 1781/82. *HL* 30 (1981) 146.
- \*ineptulus** adj.: **impertinent** *ne ergo erubescat agricola ab ineptulis riderier* || Macropedius (1538) v. 199 *HL* 31 (1982) 89.
- \*infinitudo** subst.: **infinity** *quia infinitudinem finitate non metimur* || Briçonnet (1520) d.iii<sup>r</sup> *HL* 27 (1978) 113.
- inflammatorius** adj.: **inflammatory** Benjamin Morris: *Dissertatio Medica Inauguralis, de Angina Vera seu Inflammatoria*. Lugduni Batavorum 1750 *HL* 31 (1982) 176.
- informatorium** subst.: **instruction** *informatorium pro eloquentiae romanae tyronibus, studiosis et candidatis* || Johannes Matthaeus Meyfart: *Mellificium oratorium*. Lipsiae 1628 *HL* 33 (1984) 142.
- \*ingrossare** (s. grossus) verb: **to engross** *totam qui dabit operam, ut materiam digerat omnem et semper cupit ingrossare* || Argentein (1470) v. 142 *HL* 33 (1984) 84.
- insulula** subst.: **small island** *iam quum constet Huttenum perisse die quo dictum est in insulula quadam* || Erasmus: *Epistola de interdicto esu carniū*, 1523. In: *Opera omnia* IX, 1. Amsterdam 1982 p. 121, 98 *HL* 33 (1984) 315.
- \*intersibilare** verb: **to hiss among** *iam meus intersibilat serpens triones* || Harmonius (1499) II 148 *HL-S* 1 (1978) 42.
- \*intersignum** subst.: **signboard** *sub intersignio cervi volantis* || Anon. *Cantilena pro schola Hieronymiana*. Utrecht 1539 *HL* 23 (1974) 191.
- iubilarius** (hebr. jōbēl) adj.: **who celebrated a jubilee** *Pastori Iubilario* || Epitaph for Franciscus v.d. Bossche. Antwerp 1680 *HL* 31 (1982) 191.
- \*iurista** subst.: **jurist** *ut non modo Papiensi iuristarum rectoratu ... dignum se reddiderit* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi*. Parte antica, 407 (b1). Pavia 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 57. *secundum formam statutorum universitatis iuristarum* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi*. Parte antica, 434. Pavia 1472 *HL* 31 (1982) 59. *verum ex parte domini Antonii ... et etiam maioris partis universitatis iuristarum humiliter supplicatur* || *ibid.* *HL* 31 (1982) 60. *rectori iuristarum Papie* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Missive*, 119, f.115<sup>r</sup>. 1474 *HL* 31 (1982) 62. *Bernardinus Labochetus rector iuristarum* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi*. Parte antica, 434. Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 69. *notarius universitatis iuristarum* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi*. Parte antica, 425 (fasc. 16). Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 71. *feci per bidellos universitatis iuristarum* || *Archivio di Stato di Milano: Studi*. Parte antica, 434. Pavia 1481 *HL* 31 (1982) 73.
- Jesuita** subst.: **Jesuit** *Novi Iesuitae Patrimonium* || Unpubl. poem of Misael

- Vázquez, Quito 1st half of 20th cent. *HL* 27 (1978) 272. *quas habent Abbatia S. Germani ... Jesuitae Domus professae* || Wallin (1722) p. 122 *HL* 28 (1979) 275.
- \***laetulus** adj.: **glad** *flumina currant laetula ripis* || Harmonius (1499) V 167 *HL-S* 1 (1978) 71.
- \***lagoenula** (gr. λάγυνος) subst.: **bottle** *habes lagenulam?* || Macropedius (1538) v. 128 *HL* 31 (1982) 86. *certo redibo vesperi non sine lagenula* || *ibid.* v. 882 *HL* 31 (1982) 110.
- lamentificus** (lat. lamentari) adj.: **wailing** *conquerar lamentificis susurris* || Melissus (1592) v. 10 *HL* 22 (1973) 243.
- larvula** (mlat. larvula) subst.: **spook** *iurgio altercarier larvulas visas ferunt* || Dati (1441 or 42) v. 607 *HL* 25 (1976) 136.
- lassator** subst.: **tormentor** *populi pestem lassatoremque nefandum* || Klonowicz (1587-1595) v. 399 = v. 263 *HL* 25 (1976) 251, 252.
- \***lasurius** (pers. lâzward) adj.: **azure** *non croco pinxi libellum, sed etiam minio lasurioque* || Erasmus: *Colloquia*, 1523. In: *Opera omnia*. Amsterdam 1972 I, 3 p. 603 *HL* 28 (1979) 348.
- laterinus** adj.: **brick** *Patavi in arca laterina in qua vas fictile clausum erat* || Anon. epigram. Barcelona, Bibliot. de Catalunya, 1010 p. 201 *HL* 26 (1977) 77.
- latero, -onis** = servus a latere (lat. latus) subst. *solae nobiles olim habebant laterones et anteambulones* || Erasmus: *Colloquia*, 1529. In: *Opera omnia*. Amsterdam 1972 I, 3 p. 633 *HL* 28 (1979) 348.
- Lavicum** subst.: **Lauwers (a bay between Friesland and Groningen)** Ubbo Emmius: *De Agro Frisiae inter Amasum et Lavicum fl. deque urbe Groningen in eodem agro*. Groningen 1605 *HL* 31 (1982) 236.
- \***legeus** (ligius, cf. Niermeyer s.v.) adj.: **liege** s. homagium
- leptoleschia** (gr. λεπτολεσχίειν) subst.: **nugae, idle talk** *leptoleschiis <idest> nugis* || Gerardus Moringus: *Oratio paraenetica ad literas sacras, ex praesentibus moribus ducto argumento* .... Louvain 1526, Rijksarchief, Hasselt ms 6681b f.264<sup>v</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 208.
- lexicographus** (gr. λεξικογράφος) subst.: **lexicographer** *lexicographum princeps* || Claude Salmasius: *Ad J. Milton Responsio*. London 1652. *HL* 27 (1978) 246.
- lexicon** (gr. λεξικόν) subst.: **dictionary** *auctor Dictionarij, et male consarcinati Lexici* || Melissus (1597) *HL* 22 (1973) 250.
- \***licentiatus** (lat. licentia) subst.: **licentiate** *amicum cuiusdam canonici ... Sacrae Theologiae Licenciati ... iam videtur aliquantulum concussisse* || Leonhard Kessel: letter to Jaquez Laynez. (7 March) 1563 § 5 *HL* 23 (1974) 263. *cum enim Licenciatus ille ... interrogaretur* || Leonhard Kessel: letter to Jaquez Laynez. (7 March) 1563 § 5 *HL* 23 (1974) 263. *est hic Canonicus quidam Licenciatus Theol(ogiae)* || Verepaeus (1574) § 29 *HL* 23 (1974) 298. *licentiati Pastores tres* || Verepaeus (1574) § 33 *HL* 23 (1974) 299. *Silvester Pardo, S. Theolog. Licenciatus, Cathedr. Eccles. Antverp. Canonicus* || Cornelius Schonaeus: *Terentius Christianus seu Comicae Sacrae sex*. Antwerp 1598 Y5<sup>r</sup> *HL* 33 (1984) 217.
- \***logicalis** (gr. λογικός) adj.: **logical** *cantus logicalis* || Argentein (1470) v. 41 *HL* 33 (1984) 81.

- Lucalia, Lucanalia** subst.: **St. Luke's feast** Franciscus Decius: *De re literaria asserenda Oratio ad Patres Iuratos Senatūque literarium Lucalibus ipsis habita*. Valencia 1534 *HL* 25 (1976) 206. Juan Maldonado: *Oratiuncula per adolescentulum habita Lucanalibus, 1545*. In: *Opuscula quaedam docta simul et elegantia*. Burgis, Giunta 1549 *HL* 25 (1976) 206.
- \*Lupara** (etym., s. Du Cange s.v.) subst.: **Louvre in ipso palatio seu, ut alias dicitur, Antiqua Lupara** || Wallin (1722) p. 91 *HL* 28 (1979) 271.
- lusce** (lat. luscus) adv.: **with one eye shut qui luscus lusce dicam** || Gregorius Corriarius: *Liber satyrarum* (1429/33) II, 84 *HL* 22 (1973) 22.
- Lutheranismus** subst.: **Lutheranism scio tamen ante annos complures fuisse illum haereseos suspectum (Lutheranismum vocabant)** || Nancelius (1599) § 63 *HL* 24 (1975) 250 *non miror ad finem paginae 249 pauca contra Lutheranismum verba eum addidisse* || Wallin (1722) p. 66 *HL* 28 (1979) 268.
- Lutheranus** subst.: **Lutheran scaeleratissimi Luterani** || Gerardus Moringus: *Praefatio in epistolam posteriorem Petri, simul et in Judae unicam epistolam* .... Louvain 1526, Rijksarchief, Hasselt ms 6681b f.273<sup>r</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 218. *iugulantur postremo hodie Luterani, qui ... comminiscuntur* || *ibid.*, f.275<sup>r</sup> *HL* 29 (1980) 222.

## INSTRUMENTUM CRITICUM

### — Epistolae Kircherianae.

Albertus Bartóla epistolas VI et epigramma unum, quae Athanasius Kircher S.J. Alexandro VII P.M. misit, appendicis instar edidit in commentatione ceterum satis laudanda de necessitudine docta Kircherum inter et Pontificem: “Alessandro VII e Athanasius Kircher S.J. Ricerche ed appunti sulla loro corrispondenza erudita e sulla storia di alcuni codici chigiani”, *Miscellanea Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae* III (1989), 7-105 (Studi e Testi, vol. 333). At eheu! hodie ut editorum mos esse videtur communis, verba Latina parum curata sunt, immo foedis deturpantur mendis. Et tu, Bibliotheca Vaticana, quae arx et munimentum Latinitatis esse solebas, ista pateris! At absint querelae; litteras emendemus quoad fieri potest sine iterata codicum inspectione.

#### **App. XIII (p. 89)**

ll. 10-11 sic editur: “id ingenii mei imbecillitatis probe *conserius* ignoro ...” Manifesto legendum est: *conscius*.

l. 11, 14, 16: heic et aliis in locis in verbis graecis semper i ponitur pro u. Valde dubito num et Kircherus ita fecerit.

l. 12 sic editur: “in *abstrusionis* literaturae argumento...” Lege: *abstrusioris*.

Accedit quod hanc epistolam ceterasque omnes qui revera intelligere vult, omittat totam fere interpunctionem et sententias ex novo secundum sensum distinguat.

#### **App. XIV (p. 90)**

Nota I, l. 3 : lege παιδεραστίαν, non παιδεραζίαν.

l. 17: lege *comperiuntur*, non (ut editum est) *comperiantur*.

Nota II, l. 16 (p. 91) editur: “certis *iustique* de causis”; lege: *iustisque*.

Nota III, l. 4 editur: “per occurrentes *ubi* vocant dierum”; lege: *uti*.

p. 92, l. 1 lege *tantum* pro “*tantam* abest ut...”

l. 11 editur: “epigraphe ... a codicis exaratione dissidet *annus* 371”. Lege: *annos*.

l. 19/20 editur: “quae *qualicumque* tandem fuerint...” Corrige: *qualiacumque*.

l. 23: lege *provolutus*, non *provolutus*.

**App. XV** (p. 95)

l. 2 editur: “*Ecclesiaeque splendorem*”; emenda: *Ecclesiaeque*.

**App. XVI** (p. 95)

l. 5: pro *Sanctitati* legendum est *Sanctitatis*; l. 6 pro *obrotus* lege *obrutus*.

l. 10 editur: “*accedit at commendationem*”; legendum: *ad*.

l. 12: non *venuti* legendum, sed *veluti*.

l. 20: *prostratus*, non *prostratos*.

**App. XXI** (pp. 100-101)

Duae compositiones eduntur epigrammatis *In Horologium Vaticanum*, prior cum verbis ab auctore inter scribendum variatis, altera ad Pontificem missa. Mirum admodum est in hac altera compositione versum hexametrum primum, qui in priore erat integerrimus, claudicare. Confer statum priorem: *Qui claudi caelos et sidera posse negavit*, cum secundo: *Qui caelum claudi et sidera posse negavit*, qui hiat inter *claudi* et *et*. Num Kircherus huiusmodi versum monumento inscribendum Pontifici misit? At facillime emendari potuit scribendo: *Qui caelum claudi, qui sidera posse negavit*.

Ultimus prioris status versiculus ita editur: *Intulis in terra quod stupet artis opus*. Procul dubio emendandum est verbum (*Intulit*), verisimiliter etiam legendum *in terram*.

**App. XXIII** (p. 103)

l. 4 lege *attigerit*, non *attingerit*; ll. 6-7 *offerrem*, non *offerem*; l. 12 lege *luculentissimum*, non *loculentissimum*;

l. 14 editur: “*ad perfidiam eorum propriis telis confingendam*”. Utique legendum est: *configendam*.

l. 18 lege *postulat* pro *postulas*; l. 19 lege *Sapientissimae Sanct(itatis) V(est)rae*, non *Sapientissima ... V(est)ra*.

l. 20 absurde editur: “*Interim ego me ad iter praefato, quod...*” Sensum restituas legendo: *praeparo*.

l. 21 lege: “*ad fabricam Ecclesiae inchoandam*”; l. 23 lege: “*in multos annos duratura...*”, non *multis*.

l. 27 editur: “*ne Sanctitatem Vestram mundi male pressam interpellem*”; Corrige: *mole*.

l. 29 editur: “*necnon generis delictum*”. Excidissee videtur *humani*. Cf. App. XIII (p. 89) in fine: “*unicum humani generis in terris delictum*”.

l. 32 editur: “*ad Sacros pedes prosculatus humilis servus*”. Legendum *provolutus* vel etiam *provolutus cum osculo*, ut est in App. XIV, p. 92, ll. 22-23.



**App. XXIV** (p. 104)

ll. 6-7 eduntur: “hasce litteras, gratae in te suae voluntatis *iudices*”. Kircherus sine dubio scripsit *indices*.

l. 11 ita editur: “Sua Sanctitas ... nunquam, ubi se occasio obtulerit, *si intermissuta*”. Linguam et sensum restitue sic: *sit intermissura*.

\* \*  
\*

Etiam in ipsa commentatione ubi fragmenta operum Kircherianorum adducuntur aut primum eduntur, verba nonnumquam misere corrum-puntur. Corrigo primam sententiam dissertatiunculae *De steganographico secreto numerorum*, quae sic proponitur: “*Rusultat* ... combinatio, qua ... numeri ... tam ii ... quam qui ... continentur. Simul *addidi*, unam prorsus summam conficiant”. Manifesto ita legere debemus: “*Resultat* ... continentur, simul *additi* unam ... conficiant”. Fortasse etiam legendum est *conficiunt*, causa enim non est cur coniunctivus adhibeatur.

Iosephus IJsewijn

LITERAE AD CRANEVELDIUM  
BALDUINIANAE

Elenchus pro tempore

Mense Iunio anni 1989 Opus Fundatum Belgicum a Rege Balduino nuncupatum ("Koning Boudewijnstichting - Fondation Roi Baudouin") Londinii fasciculum literarum humanisticarum emit, cuius elenchum heic pro tempore communicamus. Ipsas litteras Opus Fundatum bibliothecae Universitatis Lovaniensis de 26 m. Octobris 1990 sollemniter conservandas commisit, patrocinate collegio academico Belgico ad hoc constituto. Literae quam cito fieri potest edentur in serie c.t. *Supplementa Humanistica Lovaniensia*. Quod dum fit, qui scire plura cupit, scribat ad Iosephum IJsewijn, collegii praesidem, Erasmus-huis, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium.

1. (ff.1-2) <1520>.03.07. J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Dolet me tam inepte scripsisse.  
Epistola valde mutilata.
2. (f.6) <1520.03.00> J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Tuae epistolae iustae.
3. (f.7) <1520>.03.22. J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Πρὸς τὸν θεόν.
4. (f.9) <1520>.03.03. A. Barlandus (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Posterioribus litteris tuis.
5. (f.10) 1520.04.16 G. Geldenhouwer (Noviomagi) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. A Gruythusio nihil litterarum accepi.
6. (f.11) <1520.00.00> G. Geldenhouwer ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Salve, doctissime domine et frater amatissime. Iam stilum.
7. (ff.12-13) 1520.03.29 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Solutior iam sum aliquanto.
8. (f.14) <1520.00.00> J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quam vellem, Deus immortalis faceret.
9. (ff.15-16) 1520.(06.00) J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Memini quod nuper, quum de genio.
10. (ff.17-18) 1520.06.02 C. Vegerius (Bruxellis) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quum Gerardus Noviomagus communis amicus.
11. (f.19) <1520.00.00> G. Geldenhouwer ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Facies mihi rem gratam, si.

12. (f.20) <1520.00.00> J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Primum mihi est abs te petenda venia.
  13. (f.21) 1520.09.07 A. Barlandus (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Post tuum hinc discessum nullus mihi tabellarius.
  14. (ff.22-23) 1520.09.24 C. Vegerius (Bruxellis) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Litteras nostras duplici nomine gratas.
  15. (f.25) <1520>10.10 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Non male coniectasti, mi Craneveldi.
  16. (f.26) <1520.10.00> J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Abiit tandem.
  17. (f.27) <1520>.11.11 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Binas ad te litteras dedi superiore mense.
  18. (f.28) 1520.11.18 Jo. Fevynus <Brugis> ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. In epistola ad Hovium memini carminis tuis
  19. (f.29) 1520.12.21 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Vellem sane licet, Craneveldi optime, quam.
  20. (ff.30-31) <1520>.12.01 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Binas tuas litteras accepi.
  21. (f.32) <1520.00.00> Th. Morus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Ita mihi obstrepebat.
  22. (ff.34-36) 1520.12.19 D. Erasmus (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Nimirum hoc est quod vulgo dici solet. (= Allen 1173, versio brevior primigenia).
  23. (f.37) 1521.01.05 Io. Borsalus (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Reddite sunt mihi ad kalendas Decembres tue litere.
  24. (f.38) 1520.07.14 Io. Borsalus (Veris) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Accepi, ornatissime Craneveldi, id quod.
  25. (f.39) <1520.00.00> Io. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quamquam animi sententiam tui, satis intellexi.
  26. (f.40) <1520>.12.20. J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Habes, ut credo, epistulam loquacem.
- Haec epistola edita est in libello, quem Opus Fundatum Balduinianum divulgavit ad commemorandum diem (26 X 1990), qua epistolarum fasciculus Bibliothecae Universitatis Lovaniensis tradebatur ut cum aliis epistolis Craneveldianis una servaretur.
27. (f.41) 1521.01.19. Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Rediit hesterno die Laurinus.
  28. (f.42) 1521.01.27. Jo. Borsalus (Veris) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Habeo maximam singularem.
  29. (ff.43-46) 1521.01.12 Corradus Vecerius (Guarmaciae = Worms) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Delectaverunt me etiam atque etiam.
  30. (f.47) 1521.02.04 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Legi non sine voluptate maxima.
  31. (f.48) <1521.02.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Ludis plane me.
  32. (f.49) 1521.02.04 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Eodem prope tempore.

33. (f.50) 1521.02.06 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Evolvi totum illum epistolarum librum.
34. (f.51) 1521.02.03 Jo. Hovius (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. An hoc non est quod 'εν τῇσ παροιμίᾱσ.
35. (f.52) 1521.02.03 Jo. Hovius (Lovanii) ad Jo. Fevynum (Brugis), Inc. Dabis veniam insigni.
36. (f.55) 1521.02.17 F. Cranevelt (Brugis) ad Jo. Hovium (Lovanii), Inc. Litteras tuas una cum Progymnasmatibus D. Erasmi.
37. (f.56): Epigramma (11 trimetri iambici) missum cum epistola 36.
38. (ff.57-58) 1521.02.01 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Litteras, quas mihi misisti per Laurinum.
39. (f.59) 1521.02.21 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Perplacuit, mihi crede, Higinius tuus.
40. (f.60) <1521.02.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Dederam ego priores.
41. (f.61) 1521.02.13 (recepta 03.05) Th. Morus (in aula regia) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Qui te silentem non ferebam.
42. (f.62) <1521.03.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Alloquutus sum iamiam Vivem nostrum.
43. (f.63) <1521.03.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Proficiscitur cras familiaris quondam Laurini Londinum.
44. (f.64) <1521.03.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Dictavi quoddam ad Erasmus epistolum.
45. (f.65) <1521.03.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Ausim ego tuo praesertim hortatu.
46. <f.66> <1521.03/04.00> Jo. Fevynus ad Jo. Hovium (Lovanii), Inc. Id quod scribo.
47. <f.67> <1521.03/04.00> J.L. Vives (Brugis) ad F. Cranevelt (ib.), Inc. S. mi D. Craneveldi; remitto tibi tuum Plinium.
48. <f.68> <1521.00.00> Leonardus Clodius ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Peccatum meum agnosco.
49. (f.220) <1528> 11.08 (rec. 11.22) Th. Morus (Londini) ad F. Cranevelt (Mechliniae). Inc. Misit ad me vir clarissimus D. Hakkettus. Edetur ab Huberto Schulte Herbrüggen in commentariis, q.t. *Moreana*.
50. (ff.69-70) <1521>04.09 Th. Morus (Londinii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Binas abs te, mi Cranivelli, litteras accepi.
51. (f.71) <1521.04.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Scripsi ad Erasmus, fateor.
52. <f.72> <1521.04.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Quantum admirationis secum adferunt.
53. <ff.73-74 aut 74-75> 1521.04.29 Jodocus Gaverius (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Cum accepissem hesterno vesperi litteras.
54. (f.76) 1521.04.30 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Ego aliquantum uno atque altero doctorum.
55. (ff.77-78) 1521.05.02 Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Addubitas tu initio statim epistole tue.

56. (f.79) 1521.04.29 (rec. 05.05) J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Mi Craneveldi, spero epistolam.
57. (f.80) <1521.05.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Prodiit antiquum illud Areopagitarum.
58. (f.81) <1521.05.00> Robertus Regius ad Jo. Fevynum (Brugis), Inc. Quod mihi dudum, Reverende.
59. (f.82) <1521.05.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.D. Posteaquam tuas accepi literas, revolve denuo Chiliades.
60. (f.83) <1521.05.00> F. Cranevelt ad Jo. Fevynum (Brugis), Inc. Legi suavissimas litteras tuas mi Fevyne.
61. (f.84) <1521.05.00> F. Cranevelt ad Jo. Fevynum (Brugis), Inc. S.P. Ex litteris tuis conjicio, mi Fevyne.
62. (ff.85-86) 1521.05.22 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Vellem faceret Deus immortalis.
63. (f.87) 1521.05.08 Gerardus Geldenhouwer (Dorestad = Wijk bij Duurstede) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Non egre coepisses, sat scio.
64. (f.89) 1521.07.01 P. Curtius (Lovanii) ad G. Geldenhouwer. Inc. Salve plurimum doctissime d. Noviomage. Multa sollicitarunt.
65. (f.90) <1521.07.00> Jo. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quae nostrae vitae sors est. Carolus quum.
66. (f.91) <1521.07.00> J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. εἰ πράττειν. Ἀδριον πρὸς σχολαστικός τις. (Epistula graece scripta).
67. (f.92) 1521.07.22 J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. εἰ πράττειν. Ἐγὼ δὲ θαυμάζω καὶ φιλοῦμαι. (Epistula graece scripta).
68. (f.93) <1521.07.00> J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. εἰ πράττειν. Ἐνίκησας ἀτεχνῶς ἐμὲ γλύκιστε. (Epistula graece scripta).
69. (f.94) 1521.07.<15> G. Geldenhouwer (Gandavi) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Omnium mortalium longe amatissime.
70. (f.95) <1521> (Rec 08.05) J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Mirabar equidem sapientiss. Cranavel. quid esset.
71. (f.96) <1521>02.14 F. Cranevelt (Brugis) ad J. Fevynum (ib.), Inc. Eruditiss. fevyne. Natus est mihi hodie.
72. (f.97) <1521.00.00> J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Medicus meus mihi hodie dedit veniam.
73. (f.98) <1521.00.00> J. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Quod hesternae coena inciderim.
74. (f.99) <1521.00.00> J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Sal. mi Cranaveldi, amicus quidam.
75. (f.100) <1521.00.00> J. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.D. Cum esset apud te Morus.
76. (f.101) <1521.00.00> J. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.D. Rediens iamiam ex aede nostra.
77. (f.102) 1521.10.02 Leonardus Clodius ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Egredi non sinunt, si occupationes.
78. (f.103) 1521 (Rec 10.03) Paulus de Mera ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.D.P. Maxime mihi fuit voluptati.

79. (f.104) <1521>09.24 P. Curtius (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Salve vicissim clarissime D. Nihil est verius.
80. (f.105) <1521.00.00> J.L. Vives (Brugis) ad F. Cranevelt (ib.), Inc. S. mi Cranaveldi. Brugas veni ut.
81. (f.106) <1521.00.00> Th. Morus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. En mi Craneveldi chartae quidem honestum frustum.
82. (f.107) <1521.00.00> N. ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.p. Bis peccavi.
83. (f.107) Adagia quaedam manu Vivis exarata. Inc. Sollicitus animus onus exiguum.
84. (f.108) <1521.00.00> N. ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.p. Ut nihil sit quod ad te scribam.
85. (f.-) <1521.00.00> N. ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. Dne Craneveldi. Curans Coldius ad nos scribere.
86. (f.109) 1521.09.30 G. Geldenhouwer (Horne) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quam tui non sim immemor.
87. (f.110) <1521>10.12 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Scribo ad te mi Cranaveldi, non iam ut.
88. (f.111) <1521.00.00> Leonardus Clodius ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Si nulla queat, nisi inter pares.
89. (f.112) <1521>11.02 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Ergo abijt in Britanniam Morus?
90. (f.113) <1521>11.04 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. mi Cranevel. in medio tumultu occupationum.
91. (f.114) <1521>11.21 P. Curtius (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Secundum salutem non potui non tuo familiari.
92. (f.115) 1521.11.11 P. de Mera ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quid te remoratum est cognate suavissime.
93. (f.116) <1521>11.13 J.L. Vives (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Binas abs te litteras habeo.
94. (f.117) <1521>10.18 P. Curtius (Lovanii) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Salve doctiss. Craneveldi. Scribis tuis.
95. (f.118) <1521>11.12 T. Morus (Chelsea) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Accepi mi Craneveldi nuper abs te litteras.
96. (f.119) <1521>12.00 J. Clemens ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Remitto tibi D. Crannielli et Suidam et.
97. (f.120) <1521>12.21 Guil. Zagarus (Gandavi) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Vir opt. D. francisce Craneldi, Accepi.
98. (f.121) <1521>01.09 J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Quid est mi Craneveldi humaniss.
99. (f.122) <1521.00.00> J. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S.p.d. Lucianus tuus oblectavit sane.
100. (f.124) 1522 (Rec 02.10) Leonardus Vandenalus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Miraberis meam ineptiam.
101. (f.-) <1521>03.15 J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Si vales, <gaudeo> Nam et nos valemus.
102. (f.-) 1522.01.<00> Carmen (13 hexam.) de electione Hadriani VI P.M. Inc. Aurea nunc solita fulgebunt sydera luce.

103. (f.125) <1522.00.00> J. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. R<enun>tio tibi Vandanalum nostrum.
104. (f.-) <1522.00.00> J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Dne Crana-  
veldi, mitt<e quaesio a>d me Suidam et.
105. (f.-) <1522.00.00> F. Cranevelt ad L. Vandenalum, Inc. Salve mi Van-  
denale. Habeo tibi gratiam.
106. (f.126) 1522.03.06 Arnoldus de Gruithuys ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis),  
Inc. S.p.d. Cum ex postremis tuis.
107. (f.127) <1522.00.00> L. Vandenalus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc.  
Salve virorum amicissime, hoc enim.
108. (f.128) <1522.00.00> J. Fevynus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. (...:  
lacuna) Craneveldi. Quod acceperis.
109. (f.-) <1522.00.00> F. Cranevelt ad J. Clementem, Inc. S. <domi>ne  
Clemens. ne tibi sim.
110. (f.129) <1522.00.00> J. Borsalus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Pudet  
me nonnihil, humanissime.
111. (f.130) <1522.00.00> Th. Morus ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Litte-  
<ras tuas> charissime Craneveldi recepi.
112. (f.-) <1522>04.14 L. Clodius (Brugis) ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc.  
<Liber> tuus Clarissime vir postliminio.
113. (f.-) 1523.04.23 F. Cranevelt ad Balthasarem de Vlierden. Inc. (...:  
lacuna) quantas possum maximas.
114. (f.-) 1523.04.29 F. Cranevelt (Brugis) ad Jac. Dongelburgium. Inc. (...:  
lacuna) me quod te post tot annos.
115. (f.134) <1523.00.00> H. Bothe (?) Daventriensis (Middelburg) ad F.  
Cranevelt (Brugis). Inc. S. plu<rimum> (lacuna) d. doctor et patrone  
obss. me. Intellexi.
116. (f.135) <1523.00.00> J.L. Vives ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. Salve mi  
Cra<nev>eldi. Redit ad te tuus.
117. (f.-) <1523.00.00> N. ad F. Cranevelt (Brugis), Inc. S. <(lacuna)  
.hum>anitas. frequenter usuvenire videmus.

J. et L. IJsewijn, D. Sacré, G. Tournoy.

# INSTRUMENTUM BIBLIOGRAPHICUM

## NEOLATINUM

### Apparaverunt

J. IJsewijn, G. Tournoy, D. Sacré, M. de Schepper.

#### *Appellatio ad Auctores.*

Auctores librorum et commentationum de rebus neolatinis enixe rogamus ut nuntium de novis opusculis nobis mittant (in **Seminarium Philologiae Humanisticae, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 Leuven, Belgium**) quo citius in hoc instrumentum possint referri.

Haec bibliographia absoluta est die 1 mensis Augusti 1990.

#### *SIGLA:*

- |                           |  |
|---------------------------|--|
| <i>ARG</i>                | = <i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte</i> (Gütersloh).  |
| <i>ASNSP</i>              | = <i>Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia</i> (Pisa).  |
| <i>BHR</i>                | = <i>Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance</i> (Genève).   |
| <i>Della Corte</i>        | = <i>Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi offerti a Francesco Della Corte</i> , V (Urbino, Univ., 1987).  |
| <i>Erasme: Tours 1986</i> | = <i>Actes du Colloque international Erasme (Tours 1986). Etudes réunies par J. Chomarat, A. Godin et J.-Cl. Margolin. Travaux d'humanisme et Renaissance</i> , 239 (Genève, Droz, 1990).  |
| <i>GSLI</i>               | = <i>Giornale storico della letteratura italiana</i> (Torino).   |
| <i>HL</i>                 | = <i>Humanistica Lovaniensia</i> (Leuven).   |
| <i>IMU</i>                | = <i>Italia Medioevale e Umanistica</i> (Padova).  |
| <i>JMRS</i>               | = <i>The Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies</i> (Durham, N.C.).   |
| <i>Lebenslehren</i>       | = H. Boockmann, B. Moeller, K. Stackmann (eds.), <i>Lebenslehren und Weltentwürfe im Übergang vom Mittelalter zur Neuzeit. Politik - Bildung - Naturkunde - Theologie</i> . Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Phil.-Hist. Klasse. 3. Folge, Nr. 179 (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck/Ruprecht 1989). |
| <i>Magic</i>              | = Shumaker W., <i>Natural Magic and Modern Science. Four Treatises 1590-1657</i> . Medieval & Renaissance  |



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- Misc. Mor.* = *Miscellanea Moreana. Essays for Germain Marc'hadour* = *Moreana* 100 (Binghamton, N.Y., Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1989).
- Protreptikon* = *Protreptikon. Studi di letteratura classica ed umanistica in onore di Giovannangiola Secchi-Tarugi*, a cura di S. Prete (Istituto Fr. Petrarca, Via Mascheroni 2, I-20123 Milano, 1990).
- REL* = *Revue des études latines* (Paris).
- RIN* = *Rinascimento* (Firenze).
- RPL* = *Respublica Litterarum* (Lawrence, Kansas).
- RQ* = *Renaissance Quarterly* (New York).
- Vitaletti* = *Memores tui. Studi di letteratura classica ed umanistica in onore di Marcello Vitaletti*. A cura di S. Prete (Sassoferrato, Ist. internaz. Studi Piceni, 1990).
- WBN* = *Wolfenbütteler Barock-Nachrichten* (Wiesbaden).
- WRM* = *Wolfenbütteler Renaissance Mitteilungen* (Wiesbaden).
- Wuttke* = *Poesis et Pictura. Festschrift für Dieter Wuttke zum 60. Geburtstag*. Hrsg. von St. Füssel und J. Knappe. Saecula Spiritalia. Sonderband (Baden-Baden, Valentin Koerner, 1989).

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## INDEX VERBORUM RECENTIORUM

Sequuntur verba, quae neque in Thesauro Linguae Latinae neque in Lexico  
Totius Latinitatis Forcelliniano reperiuntur. Ea autem, quae in lexicis et  
glossariis Mediae et recentioris Latinitatis leguntur, stellula (\*) notauimus.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <p>Analysis: p. 250<br/>           Antapologia, answer to an apology:<br/>               p. 208, 209<br/>           Axiomaticus (-um iudicium), a term of<br/>               logic: p. 248<br/> <br/>           Bombarda, a gun: p. 3<br/> <br/>           *Carruca, plough, pulley: p. 49<br/>           *Collectorium opus: p. 191<br/>           Confluxus, -us: concourse: p. 326<br/> <br/>           Detectrix, female discoverer: p. 395<br/>           Dethronisare, to dethrone: p. 392<br/>           Dialogismus, fictional dialogue: p. 289,<br/>               295; cf. p. 397<br/>           Dianoeticum iudicium, a term of logic:<br/>               p. 248<br/>           Dominicaster, a petty Dominican: p. 182<br/> <br/>           Elementalis, elemental (e. mundus):<br/>               p. 183; earthly (e-e corpus): p. 184<br/>           Erica, heath: p. 325<br/>           Erratulum, little printing error: p. 86/87<br/> <br/>           Gallisatum verbum, french word of lear-<br/>               ned origin: p. 415<br/>           Grammalectoricae institutiones, rules<br/>               confusing grammar, dialectics and rhe-<br/>               toric: p. 285<br/>           *Grossitia, vulgarity: p. 32</p> | <p>Homogeneous, homogeneous: p. 248, 256,<br/>           Hyperdulia, worship: p. 325<br/> <br/>           Logismus, figure of thought opposed to<br/>               Dialogismus: p. 289, 293<br/> <br/>           *Matrina, godmother: p. 217<br/>           *Mediamnis, island in a river: p. 131<br/>           Multiforus = multiformis: p. 308<br/> <br/>           Octogeminus, eightfold: p. 145<br/> <br/>           Parochialis habitus, parish dress: p. 326<br/>           *Patrinus, godfather: p. 217<br/>           Percitari = percutare: p. 25<br/> <br/>           *Scabinus, alderman: p. 327<br/>           Scholarcha = *Scholaster: p. 326, 327<br/>           Steganographicus, cryptographic: p. 368<br/> <br/>           Tabacopoeus, tobacco worker: p. 412<br/>           Theologizare, to study theology: p. 189<br/>           Theosophista, a theologian and philoso-<br/>               pher: p. 194<br/>           Timphes, corrupted form of Sciniphes: 194<br/>           Typographia, printing office: p. 207<br/>           Vegetativa potentia, one of man's three<br/>               elements: p. 184</p> |
|--|---|

## NUNTII

### 1.

Diebus 15-18 mensis Aprilis anni 1991 Romae Conventus convocabitur de studiis linguae et litterarum Latinarum saeculis XVII-XX excultarum. Conventum curant Professores A.Traina et R.Avesani in Studiorum Universitate a Sapientia dicta.

### 2.

Diebus 2-6 mensis Augusti 1993 Academia Latinitati Fovendae conventum quinquennale convocabit Lovanii et Antverpiae apud Belgas. Hoc in conventu sive Latine sive etiam vernacule disputabitur de fortuna Latinitatis, communis nostri patrimonii, quae fuerit, quae sit, quae in proximum millennium futura esse videatur. Invitantur cultores et cultrices totius Latinitatis, i.e. Romanae, Mediae et Renatae, ut una quaerant quibus mediis et viis Latinitatis studia tueri possimus. Quae plura scire cupit vel proposita offerre litteras quaesumus mittat professoribus Josepho IJsewijn et Theodorico Sacré, Erasmushuis, Blijde Inkomststraat 21, B-3000 LEUVEN, Belgium (Fax 016/285025).

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